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ABSTRACT

This document provides a comparative study of life styles and social attitudes of middle income status whites and blacks in Northwestern Detroit, Michigan. One hour personal interviews were conducted with 213 white and 181 black families to gather information on areas such as leisure patterns and values, family life patterns, neighborhoods, educational values, interracial contact, political and community participation, civil rights involvement, ethnic identification, jobs and occupations, and social mobility. Evidence presented in the survey suggests that middle income blacks are similar to middle income whites in the number of female heads of household and the number of children in the family. In most other areas of concern the white and middle income black groups differed. The survey found that in integrated neighborhoods there was less contact between whites and blacks of middle income than was commonly assumed occurred, and that in the integrated neighborhood where the survey was conducted, both races were more pessimistic about the end of discrimination than were whites and blacks in segregated neighborhoods. In terms of occupational mobility, blacks did not see their chances of promotion being as lucrative as their white counterparts. An overwhelming percentage of blacks stated that the school system did not do an adequate job of educating the city's youth. The whites were more indifferent to the quality of education in the schools and felt that the schools were doing an adequate job for low income youth. (Author/AM)

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ED137494

A Comparative Study of Life Styles and Social Attitudes of Middle Income Status Whites and Negroes in Detroit

UD 016947

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The rapidly changing American mood and the crisis in the cities demand more relevant research then ever before in order to initiate urgent social action for our urban communities. But despite the growing commitment to change and awareness of the origins of our problems, myths, and stereotypes in race relations continue to plague us. Consideration is given to more than the traditional distortions and prejudices of our society . . . instead the emphasis is upon newer myths and more recent false images. Reflect upon two such concepts. One is the successful and affluent Negro middle class, Frazier's Black Bourgeoisie. The recent essay by Nathan Hare, The Black Anglo-saxons sees a similar view of vacuous roles and emulation of white society, referring to these perspectives as the "Middle Class Negro Mythology" -- stereotypes left unchallenged by careful investigation. A second image is that of the white middle class. Vance Packard in Status Seekers, and others condemn the values and direction taken by this segment of society which clings to perjure of values. This mixture of awe and contempt is expressed by Negroes and whites alike. It is very frequent to find the same person sharing a belief in both the "Negro middle class myth" and the "white middle class myth."

It is obvious, then that "grand illusions" exist which serve as abstract Symbols for ideological debate rather than sober definitions of reality. Social research in race relations has often fed these stereotypes and provided a shield of scientific legitimacy for preconceived thinking for both whites and Negroes. No attempt is made in the current report to describe the typical stereotyped white or Negro middle class person. The aim is not to substitute one stereotype for another. Instead, explanation is made of a number of areas of work, leisure, and social attitudes. These will be drawn from interviews with middle income

Negro and white Detroiters -- a group comprising a large segment of the total community. The sample is about evenly divided between the two racial groups. Emerging from the study are no sweeping generalizations or categorizations. Diversity is too obvious a fact of urban life to be disguised by slogans, or oversimplifications. Following a presentation of a cross-section of the survey findings, interpretations will be indicated. The conclusions will be more valuable as a stimulation for discussion than as definitive explanations. One obligation that must be fulfilled on behalf of the reader of this report is to point out the manner in which the information was gathered, how it was organized, and finally what overall patterns emerge. The goal is to shed new light on a broad strata of the urban community -- the "middle mass." Significant indicators are provided to agencies, organizations, and institutions as valuable assistance to program planning, program revisions, and pointing the way to the full utilizations of an untapped reservation of volunteers -- so vital in the collection of human resources needed to help solve the problems that ferment the urban crisis.

Although survey research has a relatively recent history as a tool of societal understanding, it is not surprising that its use has been particularly profound in a democratic society. The conditions under which persons are willing to give their views and opinions without fear of reprisals or future repercussions, reflect a climate in which free discussion is encouraged. In this respect any social survey is a dialogue between the person being interviewed and the group or organization supporting that study. So it is in this instance. The greatest share of gratitude must be that owed to the three-hundred ninety-four families participating in the survey.

Special thanks go to the Research and Program Information Committee of the Detroit Urban League, whose work had laid the basis for this study. Acting Research Director, Richard P. Fermoile, was instrumental in the methods used to draw up our sample of families and at other strategic points in the study. Mrs. Anne A. Lewis, Assistant Program Director, helped draw up the questionnaire and aided in the organization of the field work. Mrs. Cassandra Marshall of the Urban League staff, typed the questionnaire material while Miss Shannon Lynch prepared the final manuscript.

Deep appreciation and thanks go to several persons without whom this study would not have been carried out so efficiently and professionally. First of all Mrs. Minna Cuker, the proficient field supervisor for the survey work. Her skills greatly aided the study. While the field staff of 28 interviewers, worked during a difficult period of community and national tragedies the results were an excellent body of collected information. In addition, thanks go to the study coder, Mrs. Dianne Middleton, whose task of preparing the interviews for statistical analysis was accomplished in nearly record time.

Despite many and varied difficulties encountered during the study, the League owes a great dept of gratitude to Dr. Donald L Warren, which goes beyond his professional duties as the Special Project Director for his deep insight and determined challenge to complete the study for its intrinsic values to social planning.

Finally, this study should give new direction to social program planners in an awareness of unusual community resources, a large group of volunteers, prepared because of training and able because of income to give their combined efforts to the resolution of some social problems that beset Detroit. Moreover, this study may stimulate other studies of greater depth in unearthing facts with which committed people will join forces in getting to the sources of community need.

Francis A. Kornegay
Executive Director

Chapter I

HOW THE STUDY WAS CONDUCTED

The Sample of Middle Income Families:

To interview every person whose social situation and attitudes are relevant to a study would involve an impossible expenditure of time and money. Consequently, a sample must be selected of persons who represent those of the entire population in who are to be included: Negro and white families in the "middle income" range.

The population to be concerned with -- "The Middle Income Universe" -- was chosen with the following criteria in mind, based on the U. S. Census of 1960: Census tracts in Detroit where a median income of $8,000 a year or more occurred, or where 20% or more of the households were headed by professional or managerial workers. While Highland Park and Hamtramck were included, only the former "suburb" had any qualifying census tracts. Using this standard the fact was established that a total of 123 census tracts fell into the "sampling universe." The total number of blocks in these tracts was 4,069. (1) In order to get a large number of middle income families "middle income" neighborhoods were selected.

The sample blocks included 948 East of Woodward and 3,121 West of Woodward. Using as a reasonable base for sampling accuracy, a 2% sample, the 4,069 blocks were divided by a factor of 75. The resulting answer was an interval of 54. This meant that every 54th block on the sampling list was used to interview middle income families. A total of 76 blocks were included. Fifty-nine of these are on the West side, 17 on the East side. The insert map (Figure 1) shows the

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1. The area bounded by 8 Mile and 6 Mile between Wyoming and Woodward was excluded because of the recent carrying out of a study in this racially shifting area. A subsequent report of the findings will be made from this study where comparable questions have been asked. This "Northwest Study" used was unusual compared to the rest of Detroit because of the absence of white Protestant families.

census tracts with Negro and white sample blocks as well as the total number from which the final sample was drawn.

Because the distribution of families in terms of race is far from a random one, the number of sample blocks with white families was substantially larger than that for Negro families. This meant that in determining how many families and what kinds of household-heads to speak to (in terms of age and sex) strict quotas had to be assigned so as not to bias the study. Again using the 1960 U. S. Census, efforts were made to match the actual distribution of families in each racial sub-group. In the 1960 Census, Negro males in the following categores had these percentages:

		White Males were Distributed as Follows:	
Age	21-29 27%	Age	21-29 16%
	30-49 38%		30-49 40%
	50-Over 35%		50-Over 44%
	100%		100%

Using these figures it was determined the manner in which interviews should be taken for given age groups. The number of interviews to be made with men and women was also ascertained. Using a total goal of 400, 165 interviews were sought with females and 65 with males in each of the two racial sub-groups. The whole purpose of setting these quotas was to avoid interviewing only persons who were usually at home or who were generally easier to interview. The distortions produced by these "short-cuts" were serious. Consistently, younger Negro males are missed by many surveys because they are a more mobile group seeking work, while the retired and elderly are more likely to be found at home. The study was aimed at avoiding these errors by providing as close a match to the actual population of middle income families as the survey process would allow. It is believed that subsequent data will bear out the painstaking efforts made at the initial state of the survey.

WHITE AND NEGRO MIDDLE INCOME UNIVERSE SAMPLE

W = White Middle Income Universe/Sample
N = Negro Middle Income Universe/Sample
X = Northwest Study Data of which is included in this study
DETROIT, HAMTRAMCK and HIGHLAND PARK CITIES
BY
CENSUS TRACT
1969
SCALE
MILES

FIGURE 1

Research Department
Detroit Urban League

The Interview Situation:

Information in the report was based on a one-hour personal interview in the homes of the selected families. A staff of professional interviewers conducted the field work. Following the assigned age and sex quotas, white interviewers visited white homes and Negro interviewers visited Negro homes. The work of reaching the sample families began in late March and continued through the month of April. A total of 394 acceptable interviews were taken. Analysis of the collected data took place in May and June. All of the information is confidential and only the research field staff had access to the interviews. A high level of rapport and cooperation was given by the sample families. Ninty and eight tenths percent of all families contacted for an interview and identified as falling into the sample, completed "middle income" interviews.

A Note on Interpretation:

Because the goal was to interview equal numbers of Negro and white families, population representation for the two groups was not made. Middle income families are a far smaller percentage in the Negro community than in the white community of Detroit. In the insert map (Figure 2) one sees the compression of the Negro sampling points versus the white. Segregation patterns of the city required that many more interviews were necessary in a given sampling point in the Negro community compared to the white community in order to produce similar numbers of interviews for both groups. To reduce the time and effort at interviewing there is, therefore, a bias in the sample against racially integrated neighborhoods. The blocks selected tended to be either all white or all Negro. Therefore, the people spoken to were not as representative of middle income families in racially diverse neighborhoods as middle income families living in

racially homogeneous neighborhoods. This tendency in the sample does, however, accurately represent the fact that few neighborhoods in Detroit are racially diverse. Data from the "Northwest Sample" provides a specific look at the atypical integrated area.

A Note on Percentage Differences:

In the analysis tables of this report, percentage figures are used throughout. Because these percentages are based on a sample of all families fitting the definition, some differences in percentages are random fluctuations, not valid or significant differences. This leads to the question, "If Negro families show a given percent while white families show a figure that is divergent, how much difference is statistically important?" The rule of thumb to adopt is that a percentage variation of 10% or more indicates a genuine difference in the two groups not merely because of sampling variations.

WHITE AND NEGRO SAMPLING POINTS

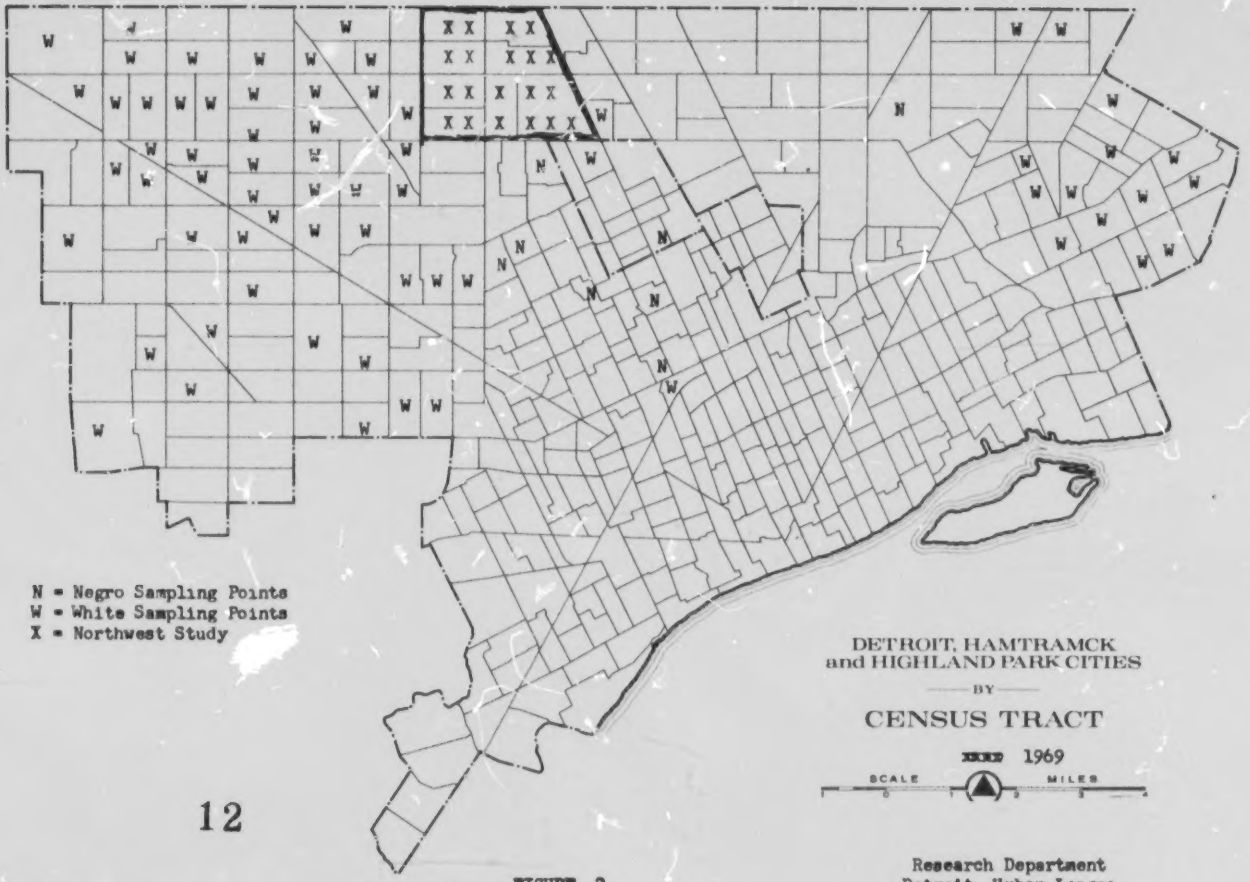

FIGURE 2

Research Department
Detroit Urban League

Chapter II

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE FAMILIES

In this section of the report attention is given to the "objective" elements of social status and economic position. Two questions assist in the understanding of race patterns in the Detroit community: 1) Is the achievement of a "middle income" position equivalent to "middle class" status? 2) what are the similarities and differences in the "middle income Negro and white families?"

More white than Negro families were interviewed -- a total of 213 and 181 respectively. In all of the subsequent analysis this complement of families forms the base of comparison. Two factors resulted in more white families being interviewed: a higher age distribution and a large population from which to draw respondents. Putting it another way, there were many more white families who fitted the initial criteria and who are a less mobile group because of age.

Table 1 supports the differences in the two sub-groups of the sample. Only one in ten heads of households in the Negro sample is age 60 or over, while more than one in every six white household heads is in that age grouping.

Social Status:

Table 2 indicates the employment status of the head of the household. It was revealed that in the white sample, half as many household heads are retired as compared to that of the Negro sample. By contrast it was noted that a similar ratio in terms of employment -- about half again the proportion of Negro families reflect joblessness as does the white families. In a study conducted by the TALUS staff in 1965-66 it was found that 2.3% of the white households had an unemployed head. This is identical to the figure in this study, 4.4% of the Negro households reflected joblessness by the head. This comparison points out

that while the gap in employment levels is smaller, Negroes -- even in this "middle income universe" -- have greater unemployment.

Economic Status:

Table 3 shows the income level of the families that fell into the survey. For each income level the figures in parenthesis are the percentages for a cross-section sample as conducted by TALUS. Yet despite efforts to select a Negro and white sample as much alike as possible on income, the approach still reflects the income differential between the two racial groups. For example, 34.8% of the Negro families interviewed had incomes in excess of $10,000. Yet 54.9% of the white families interviewed had comparable incomes. About one in four families in the sample has an income of $14,000 or higher; somewhat better than one in ten of the Negro families have such an income. What the sample does match in, is the proportion of families in the sample with very low incomes. Here Negro families under $5,000 income form just 10.4% of the sample; the comparable white statistic is 9.9%.

Occupational status of the sample families is shown in Table 4. The sample shows three times as many whites in the professional or semi-professional category as compared to Negroes. At the same time more than triple the number of Negro family heads are classified as being in the "unskilled" or laborer census classification: 18.2% versus 5.1%. If all of the "white collar" occupations are taken one finds that 35.8% of the Negro sample falls into this group while 64.2% of the white sample fits that designation. Once again the groups are not identical here since somewhat less than twice as many whites have non-manual occupations as compared to Negroes.

In Table 5 educational levels of males and females in the sample families is shown. For males two out of five Negroes have less than a high school

diploma as compared with one in four for whites. College graduates form 11.6% of the Negro male sample and 32.3% of the white sample.

Table 6 gives the patterns of geographical mobility for the sample families. For male heads of households, 72.9% of the Negroes and 82.3% of the whites have been Detroiters for at least 20 years. For females the comparable figures are 69.1% and 75.9% respectively. What this differential by race suggests is that the "middle income" groups are "oldtimers" to the city. Whatever geographical movement may have occurred or is occurring for other groups the study indicates similar stable populations in this strata of the community. Given the relatively small differences by race, in effect there is a built-in experiment to measure the rate of social mobility.

Table 7 offers a comparison of residential mobility for the sample of families. Somewhat less than half of the white families in the sample have resided in their present home for ten years or longer. This is slightly more than twice the proportion for Negro families. Recent movement of residence is reflected by the almost one in two Negro families living in a home occupied only since 1964; this is true of one in three of the white families. These findings suggest that middle income families in Detroit -- race apart -- are geographically mobile. However, the rates of movement from households occupied by the same family in the previous five years is lower than for the white and Negro population for Detroit in general.

Table 1

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS:
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

	Negro Families	White Families
Age 20-29	13.8%	15.5%
Age 30-39	28.2	21.6
Age 40-49	25.5	27.3
Age 50-59	21.5	17.4
Age 60 or more	11.0	18.2
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 2

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS:
EMPLOYMENT STATUS

	Negro Families	White Families
Employed	87.9%	84.5%
Retired	6.7	9.9
Unemployed	3.3	2.3
Housewife	1.1	2.3
Student (in school)	0.5	0.4
Other (invalid)	0.5	0.2
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 3

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS:
REPORTED TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME

	Negro Families			White Families		
Under $3,000		4.8%	(25.9%)		5.2%	(18.9%)
$3,000 to $4,999		5.5	(15.7%)		4.7	(12.5%)
$5,000 to $7,999		23.2	(37.1%)		12.7	(30.0%)
$8,000 to $9,999		18.8	(10.7%)		17.8	(16.4%)
$10,000 to $11,999		11.6			18.8	
$12,000 to $13,999	34.8%	11.6		54.9%	11.7	
$14,000 to $19,999		9.4			15.0	
$20,000 or more		2.2			9.4	
Refused to answer		12.8			4.7	
Total		100.0%			100.0%	

(Base: 394)

Table 4

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS:
OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF MALE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

	Negro Families		White Families	
Professional, semi-professional, kindred	13.3%		33.2%	
Officials, proprietors, managers	12.2	35.8%	18.8	64.2%
Clerical and sales workers	10.3		12.2	
Craftsmen, foremen, kindred workers	15.8		15.8	
Operative and service workers	26.0		10.7	
Laborers	18.2		5.1	
Retired, unemployed	4.2		4.2	
Total	100.0%		100.0%	
	Base: 165		Base: 197	

Table 5

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS:
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

	Male		Female	
	Negro Families	White Families	Negro Families	White Families
0-8 years	18.3%	13.1%	6.2%	8.1%
9-11 years	21.2	11.5	18.5	18.9
High school graduate	34.6	28.5	55.4	50.0
1 to 3 years college	14.5	14.6	15.4	10.8
College graduate	5.8	14.6	4.6	9.5
Post graduate or professional schooling	5.8	17.7	0.0	2.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 6

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS:
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN DETROIT FOR
MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

	Male		Female	
	Negro Families	White Families	Negro Families	White Families
0-4 years	5.8%	6.7%	6.7%	5.9%
5-9 years	1.9	3.6	3.1	6.4
10-14 years	7.5	5.2	12.1	6.9
15-19 years	11.9	2.0	9.2	4.9
20 or more years	72.9	82.3	69.1	75.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Base:	160	165	193	204

Table 7

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS:
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE AT PRESENT ADDRESS

	Negro Families	White Families
0-5 months (1968)	3.3%	2.8%
6-11 months	7.2	4.7
1 year, less than 2	8.9	8.9
2 years, less than 3	9.9	6.1
3 to 4 years	19.9	11.3
5 to 9 years	28.5	19.2
10 to 19 years	22.3	27.7
20 or more years	0.0	19.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Chapter III

LEISURE PATTERNS AND VALUES

One of the first questions asked of the respondents in the survey was: "How did you and your family spend your vacation time in 1967?" The following Tables -- 1, 2, and 3 show the differences between the travel patterns of the Negro and white respondents. Negro families when they do travel are more limited in their movements than white families. About twice as many whites traveled to nearby Canada as did Negro families. One in 100 of the sample Negro families took a vacation outside of the United States (other than in Canada). About six times as many whites took such vacations.

For those respondents indicating reasons for their travel there exists an important difference between the Negro and white families. As already noted, family contacts account for nearly half the travel purposes of Negro families. This is true for one-quarter of the white families. Sightseeing trips are about evenly divided. Whites are far more likely to travel for sports activities. This would include boating, fishing, and hunting. Whites also indicated travel for "relaxation," "just to rest," or other similar reasons four times as frequently as Negro families. In general important differences were seen in vacation purposes for white and Negro middle income families. Social contacts with friends or relatives account for the majority of travel goals of the Negro families.

Apart from vacation and travel activities, a vital question was raised. What kinds of spare-time or avocational activities were important to the sample families? To avoid the usual answers, the following question was asked: "Is there anything you do in your spare time for which your friends give you a lot of credit?" Table 4 indicates the answers we received. The most frequent kind

of reply was concerned with household chores and maintenance. Negro respondents were somewhat less likely to give this type of answer than whites. Community work and church related activities were less frequent for white families. Painting, writing, or other "expressive" activities were more prevalent among the white respondents. The overall priorities were not very divergent. Activities involving social interaction with others outside the family accounted for 38% of Negro responses and 29% of white responses.

Table 5 presents information on preferences among a list of recreational activities. These findings suggest that Negro middle income families are not emulating their white counterparts, but instead are displaying functional and socially significant leisure activities. Negro middle income families appear to be setting a better model of interested citizenship than is espoused by the large society.

A form of leisure activity which has importance for defining values and life styles are the reading habits of families. Tables 6 through 9 provide information on this topic. Table 6 summarizes the findings. In the Negro sample nearly one in ten respondents had no regular newspaper choice. Another one in ten selected the Michigan Chronicle -- a weekly Negro paper -- and three out of four persons indicated one of the two Detroit dailies. One in twenty whites had no newspaper choice while almost nine out of ten picked one of the two dailies.

Table 7 deals with magazine reading. It was noted for white and Negro respondents those reporting no regular reading of "magazines or periodicals" number one out of every seven respondents. By contrast almost three out of four Negroes interviewed read at least two magazines regularly, but only one in two whites has this level of readership.

Within the Negro sample, attention to race-oriented reading material is substantial. Among the choices (first, second, and third) mentioned for periodicals, Ebony was included by two out of five families, Jet by one in seven families, and Negro Digest by 1.2% of the sample. Summarizing, 57% of the Negro sample reads on a regular basis at least one periodical oriented to a group identity content. One in four families selects a race-oriented periodical as a first choice in reading fare. The statistics are given in Table 8.

The final examination of reading patterns is shown in Table 9. Here the responses analyzed pertain to this question: "How many books have you read in the last two months?" At the high end of the reading scale whites have 13.6% reporting six or more books read, Negroes have 11.5% in this category. At the opposite end of the scale, 47.5% of the whites indicated they had read no books in the last two months, while only 40.7% of the Negro sample so indicated. An additional way of summarizing the findings is to note that 52.5% of the white sample and 59.3% of the Negro sample report reading at least one book in the past two months. These figures are indicative of roughly similar book reading habits with some tendency for Negroes to be at least minimum consumers of such reading material. But in fact this general similarity is striking in view of the somewhat lower socio-economic level of the Negro versus the white sample.

The analysis of leisure patterns does not substantiate a view of the white or Negro middle sample as a frivolous nor especially "escapist" strata of society The stereotypes and myths do not seem to apply. Each group has some distinct leisure preferences which provide focal central interests. Life styles reflect, if anything, a greater carrying out of values in the Negro sample of those things generally voiced by the society as a whole.

Recommendations:

1. Since a large percent of Negroes interviewed (35.8%) expressed interest in "community work," the Urban League, the NAACP, and other community based groups might make a more concerted effort to involve this group in some volunteer activities.
2. One in every four Negro respondents expressed a preference for race-oriented periodicals (Ebony, Jet, Negro Digest). It would seem that both the National and local Leagues should consider using this media as much as possible to disseminate information about Urban League activities: To explain Urban League philosophy and to encourage readers to support constructive, progressive programs.
3. Encourage Negroes to take vacations which expose them to a wider variety of travel (places of interest) as, adding to their education, cultural growth, as well as relaxation.
4. Since more and more Negroes are travel-minded, one recommendation might be the formation of travel clubs where members could exchange ideas and experiences and share pictures, slides, and other momentos of their travels. Such groups could provide entertainment for children and young people, which would have great cultural value.

Table 1

LEISURE PATTERNS:
VACATION TRAVEL

	Negro Families	White Families
Didn't take a trip	58.5%	37.1%
Traveled to Northeastern U.S.	21.5	17.4
Traveled to Southeastern U.S.	7.1	4.7
Traveled to Canada	5.0	9.8
Traveled in Michigan	3.3	23.5
Traveled to Western U.S.	3.3	4.7
Traveled outside of U.S.	1.0	5.8
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 2

LEISURE PATTERNS:
MEANS OF VACATION TRAVEL IN 1967
(for families who made trips)

	Negro Families	White Families
Automobile	74.5%	84.5%
Airplane	17.9	11.1
Bus	5.1	0.7
Train	2.5	2.2
Boat	0.0	1.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 3

LEISURE PATTERNS:
VACATION TRAVEL ACTIVITIES FOR 1967

	Negro Families	White Families
Visiting relatives	46.5%	24.9%
Sightseeing trip	29.9	32.5
Sports activities (camping, etc,)	10.4	26.8
Visiting friends	7.9	3.4
Relaxing, N.F.S.	2.7	9.9
Social activities N.F.S.	0.0	1.8
Other	2.7	0.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	Base: 106	Base: 132

Table 4

LEISURE PATTERNS:
SPARE TIME AVOCATIONAL SKILLS

	Negro Families	White Families
Household repairs or related activities	34.8%	41.9%
Community and church work	24.8	17.8
Athletic activities	8.8	8.0
Family activities	3.8	3.9
Expressive skills (painting, writing, etc.)	2.1	7.0
Fashion conscious	3.3	0.9
Card playing, games, etc.	2.2	1.7
Socialising	2.2	1.9
Specific hobbies	0.0	3.3
No skill stated	18.0	13.6
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 5

LEISURE PATTERNS:
RANK ORDERINGS OF INTEREST IN FIFTEEN KINDS OF RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES
(Percent indicating they would be "Very Interesting")

	Negro		White	
	Percent	Rank	Percent	Rank
Do it yourself projects around the house	55.3%	(1)	44.5%	(3)
Taking a course in subject related to work	50.7	(2)	40.7%	(5)
Reading books	50.3	(3)	48.5	(2)
Take up new hobby at home	48.3	(4)	38.6	(6)
Adult education classes	45.3	(5)	28.1	(11)
Watch television	40.8	(6)	27.2	(13)
Cultural events (concerts art exhibits)	39.8	(7)	32.5	(8)
Join a club or community organisation	38.6	(8)	22.6	(15)
Do volunteer work in the community	37.4	(9)	27.7	(12)
Attend sporting events	37.0	(10)	30.1	(10)
Take a course in subject not related to work	36.0	(11)	31.9	(9)
Attend lectures on current events	35.4	(12)	24.9	(14)
Play cards	34.1	(13)	37.6	(7)
Visiting friends	31.5	(14)	50.6	(1)
Golf or boating	28.1	(15)	41.7	(4)

(Base: 394)

Table 6

LEISURE PATTERNS:
NEWSPAPER READING
(1st Choice of Three Alternatives)

	Negro Families		White Families	
The Detroit News	53.2%	(65.8)*	64.3%	(74.5)
The Detroit Free Press	22.6	(40.8)	23.0	(41.9)
Michigan Chronicle	11.6	(46.4)	0.0	(0.9)
Other Michigan papers	1.1	(1.1)	0.0	(0.5)
Suburban Press	0.5	(4.4)	3.3	(26.6)
New York papers	0.5	(4.9)	2.3	(11.3)
"Ethnic" papers	0.5	(3.3)	1.4	(11.7)
Toledo papers	0.0	(1.7)	0.5	(5.2)
Chicago papers	0.0	(0.0)	0.5	(3.3)
No regularly read weekly or daily	9.9		4.7	
Total	100.0%		100.0%	

* Figures in parenthesis include total percentage for all three choices.

(Base: 394)

Table 7

LEISURE PATTERNS:
MAGAZINES OR PERIODICALS READ REGULARLY

	Negro Families	White Families
Three or more magazines read regularly	54.0%	46.5%
Two magazines read regularly	17.2	14.6
One magazine read regularly	14.4	24.9
No magazines read regularly	14.4	14.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 8

LEISURE PATTERNS:
NEGRO RESPONDENTS AND RACE-ORIENTED MAGAZINES

	Ebony	Jet	Negro Digest	Total
1st mentioned choice	18.8%	5.0%	0.6%	24.4%
2nd mentioned choice	15.5	5.0	0.6	21.1
3rd mentioned choice	6.1	4.4	0.0	10.5
Total	41.4%	14.4%	1.2%	57.0%

Table 9

LEISURE PATTERNS:
NUMBER OF BOOKS READ IN LAST TWO MONTHS

	Negro Families	White Families
6 or more	11.5%	13.6%
4 or 5 books	11.0	6.6
3 books	11.0	8.0
2 books	11.0	10.3
1 book	14.8	14.0
No books read	40.7	47.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Chapter IV

FAMILY LIFE PATTERNS

Table 1 indicates the pattern of marital status in the interviewed families using the standard Census categories. Both whites and Negroes were found to be overwhelmingly located in the married classification. White families showed a higher level of marital stability. The Differentials for proportion of divorced respondents may be accounted for by the high proportion of whites who are of the Catholic faith. The age differential in the two subgroups also accounts for the higher widowhood of white respondents. Given the variation in percentages due to sampling error we can conclude that the Negro and white samples are remarkably similar in terms of marital status.

The middle income survey shows little difference as to the sex of the household head. Table 2 indicates that over nine out of ten of both Negro and white families in the sample are headed by a male figure.

In Table 3 the employment status of wives in the selected households is made evident. A greater level of past and present employment is reflected in the statistics for Negro women in the survey. One in two is now working and better than one in four has previously worked, but is now unemployed. This means that about three out of all the wives interviewed have been in the labor force. For white women in the sample, comparable figures indicate two out of five now are or at one time were in the labor force. The housewife category is perhaps most indicative of a woman's "self-image." Nearly five times as many white women use the housewife designation as Negro women.

Table 4 indicates that not only do middle income Negro women play a greater role in the labor force, but they work longer hours than employed white women. Sixty-four and nine tenths percent of Negro respondents, who are employed,

report working 40 hours or more. White women in the sample indicate this level 54.1% of the time. Twice as many white women are working less than 20 hours as are Negro women in the sample.

In terms of household composition the findings indicate that the middle income Negro household is somewhat more likely to have additional adults besides the head of the house and their spouse. Table 5 indicates the pattern. Negro households contain two additional adults twice as often as white households.

At several points in the report the greater degree of family involvement for the Negro middle income sample was noted. This interdependence between extended kin has many significant functions. The respondents were asked the following question: "Most families need some assistance when they first start out, and then at other times. Please tell if any of these things apply to you?" A series of six forms of direct and indirect economic aid were listed. Table 6 presents the answers received. Helping with bills or food requirements was reported twice as often by Negro families as white families. Babysitting while parents work was three times as frequent. By contrast, white families report more aid via baybsitting for <u>leisure</u> activities. Whites also are more than twice as likely to have received a loan or gift for a house down-payment as Negro families.

In Table 7 the variety and volume of kin aid is analyzed. Fifty-five and seven tenths percent of the Negro families report no help via the six ways indicated. The comparable white percentage is 52.2%. Almost one out of every ten Negro households received at least three forms of kin assistance; about one in 18 white families had this amount of aid. Overall, the difference in extent of help is much smaller than the difference in <u>type</u> of help. Thus,

financial help occurred for 30.4% of the Negro families; 30.6% of the white families.

Table 8 shows the attitudes of families toward the help they received from kin. The respondents, who received some kind of kin assistance were asked: "Was this help of great importance, some importance, hardly any importance, or no importance to you?" Negro families are more likely to express the significance of aid than white families. Twenty-five and five tenths percent of the Negro families indicate "some" or "hardly any" importance; white families choose these answers 36.7% of the time. Thus, white families while receiving similar levels of aid from kin appear to stress its value less than Negro families.

The sample of middle income families is overwhelmingly a home-owning group. Table 9 indicates the extent of this pattern. But race differences are present. While almost nine out of ten white families interviewed are homeowners, this is true of less than three out of four Negro families. The TALUS study for a cross comparison of Detroit shows 48% ownership by Negroes and 84% by whites. The sample is, therefore, more similar than the city as a whole, but still shows important differences.

Summary:

1. The Middle Income sample of households shows no difference in the proportion of household heads who are female.
2. The distribution of sample families by number of children living at home is virtually identical for Negro and white sample households. The white families have a greater range of family cycles with more pre-school and more post-teen households than the Negro sample.

3. Negro wives in the sample are presently employed in one out of two households. For whites the comparable proportion is somewhat over one in three. Employed and unemployed women comprise over three-quarters of the Negro sample, but only two-fifths of the white sample. White women designate their status as "housewife" almost five times as often as Negro women.

4. Employed women in a full time job comprise nearly two-thirds of the Negro middle income sample. This is 10% greater than the white sample. Nearly three out of four Negro women interviewed in the survey work 25 hours per week or more compared to less than three out of five white women.

5. One out of five Negro households has at least one additional adult beyond the head of the household and their spouse living in the household as compared to about one in twenty white households.

6. Help from kin is focused on helping with bills and food in times of difficulty, babysitting while parents work among the Negro sample is shown to a greater extent than in white families. Living with in-laws is reported equally among Negro and white families.

7. The sample of middle income families shows a large majority as home-owners. The Negro sample shows twice as many renters as the white sample; 29% versus 12%.

8. Credit and loan purchases are reported more extensively by Negro as compared to white middle income families.

Recommendations:

1. There is need for further study to determine why Negro women work longer hours.
2. This chapter underscores the need for more consumer education to assist lower income Negro families to budget and buy wisely to make the most of their limited income.
3. The establishment of more community child care facilities, open to children of all economic levels, and through all means -- public, cooperative, and private.
4. The development of greater vocational opportunities, particularly for middle-range jobs, coupled with efforts to open up new job opportunities.
5. Women in the middle income category should be urged and encouraged to become involved in community policy planning and decision making because of the benefit to them and the future of their children.

Table 1

FAMILY PATTERNS:
MARITAL STATUS

	Negro Families	White Families
Married	87.3%	89.9%
Widowed	4.4	7.4
Divorced	3.3	0.9
Separated	3.3	0.9
Never married	1.7	0.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 2

FAMILY PATTERNS:
SEX OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD

	Negro Families	White Families
Male Head of Household	91.3%	92.5%
Female Head of Household	8.7	7.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 3

FAMILY PATTERNS:
EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF FEMALE SPOUSE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD
(Where head is employed)

	Negro Families	White Families
Employed	49.5%	35.0%
Housewife	12.6	58.5
Unemployed	29.6	5.0
Retired	2.6	0.0
Student (in school)	2.5	0.5
Other (invalid)	3.2	1.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	Base: 159	Base: 180

Table 4

FAMILY PATTERNS:
HOURS PER WEEK REPORTED BY EMPLOYED FEMALES

	Negro Families	White Families
1-9 hours	0.0%	9.7%
10-19 hours	8.5	7.0
20-24 hours	18.1	25.0
25-39 hours	8.5	4.2
40 or more hours	64.9	54.1
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	Base: 83	Base: 72

Table 5

FAMILY PATTERNS:
EXTENDED FAMILY LIVING IN HOUSEHOLD

	Negro Families	White Families
No adults except head and spouse of head	80.2%	88.3%
One adult other than head and spouse	13.2	8.4
Two or more adults other than head and spouse	6.6	3.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 6

FAMILY PATTERNS:
TYPES OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT ECONOMIC HELP

	Negro Families	White Families
Helping with bills or food when times were difficult	19.7%	9.9%
Lived with parents or in-laws	18.3	18.8
Babysitting while parent worked	13.8	5.2
Babysitting for shopping or recreation	9.9	15.9
A loan or gift for down-payment on a house	9.4	19.3
Co-signing for purchasing a household item	8.3	5.6

Table 7

FAMILY PATTERNS:
EXTENT OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT ECONOMIC HELP

	Negro Families	White Families
Helped in all six ways	0.6%	0.0%
Helped in five ways	1.8	0.0
Helped in four ways	2.2	0.9
Helped in three ways	4.9	5.2
Helped in two ways	9.4	11.7
Helped in one way	25.4	30.0
No help given	55.7	52.2
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Negro financial help 30.4% White financial help 30.6%

Table 8

FAMILY PATTERNS:
IMPORTANCE OF KIN AID RECEIVED

	Negro Families	White Families
Great importance to standard of living	74.5%	63.3%
Some importance	21.6	30.8
Hardly any importance	3.9	5.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	Base: 79	Base: 101

Table 9

FAMILY PATTERNS:
HOMEOWNERSHIP

	Negro Families	White Families
Own home	71.4%	87.7%
Renting home	28.6	12.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Chapter V

NEIGHBORHOODS

This portion of the report deals with the significance and involvement people feel in their residential location. A number of questions on this topic from the "Northwest Study" -- persons in the Six to Eight Mile, Wyoming to Woodward area will be used for comparison. In this latter study 193 Negro families were interviewed and 216 white families.

Respondents were asked a general attitude question about their neighborhood: "Compared to other areas of this city and its suburbs, how well do you like this neighborhood, that is, the area within walking distance from here?" Table 1 presents the responses received -- both from the Middle Income sample and the Northwest sample. Negro families in the first sample are more critical and in the second sample less critical than white families. The pattern shows that it is less a question of whites being more critical of their surroundings in the northwest area than of Negro families being much more positive. In the Middle Income sample one in every six Negro respondents indicated a mild or strongly negative attitude toward their neighborhood. Less than half this proportion expressed similar attitudes among the white sample. By contrast, whites in the Northwest areas were negative 11.7% of the time, and Negroes 1.2% of the time. It is possible to interpret the white reaction as a product of racial change in the Northwest study area. Since the Middle Income sample is largely drawn from racially homogenous neighborhoods, whatever components explain attitudes toward the neighborhood, race is not a central issue.

One link to the immediate neighborhood is the friendship ties that exist. Respondents were asked: "How many of your neighbors on this block do you

know well enough so that you are likely to spend half an hour or so with them now and then?" The results are shown in Table 2. In the middle income study whites show more extensive friendship contacts. While 38.6% of the Negro sample indicate four or more friendships, 51.7% of the whites indicate this level of involvement. In terms of low attachment (knowing only one neighbor or not knowing any) Negroes in about one in three instances have this level of involvement as compared to one in six whites.

Turning to the findings for the Northwest sample it is noted that the differences in degree of neighborhood contact are smaller between Negro and white respondents. Thus, in an interracial situation Negro families appear to have similar contacts to an all-Negro setting; while whites have less neighborhood contacts than in all-white settings. For example, in the Northwest area nearly one in three whites has only one or no neighbors as a casual acquaintance. Twice this proportion was found in the non-interracial Middle Income sample. Both the findings of the Northwest and Middle Income samples show Negroes less often with high volume contact (four or more neighbors as acquaintances) than whites.

Another view of the significance of neighborhoods is the overlap between community organizations on the one hand, and neighborhood people on the other. Respondents were asked: "Whether or not they see other people from their neighborhood in the organizations they belong to." Table 3 presents the findings. Negroes are more than twice as likely to see neighbors at three different groups they belong to as compared to whites. While more than half of the white sample belong to no organizations where neighbors are met, this is true of less than one in three Negroes. Overall, then, neighborhoods form a more important link to the large community for Negroes as compared to whites.

In Table 4 we examine the sense of cohesion of the neighborhood. Families were asked: "Which of these three statements best describes your neighborhood?" The Table shows how each description was responded to. In the Middle Income study, 50.3% of the Negroes and only 37.6% of the whites see their neighbors as sharing common values. At the same time, few saw their neighborhood as conflict-ridden. Half of the whites and one-third of the Negroes saw their neighbors as detached and "keeping to themselves." These findings correspond with Table 3 where Negro families found a link between neighborhood and other social ties. For whites the neighborhhod is a more aloof, impersonal setting. Findings from the Northwest sample show a similar if not more pronounced pattern. The dimensions of neighborhood cohesion are, therefore, not attributable to segregated or integrated housing. Whites and Negroes differ ih both settings.

To determine whether middle income families were supportive or hostile toward various specialized housing needs in their community, people were asked to put themselves in the place of their neighbors in regard to supporting the location of various forms of public housing in the neighborhood. In Table 5 the results of asking such a question about housing for elderly are seen. Whites see their neighbors favoring such housing more than do Negroes.

In regard to public housing for "middle income families" Table 6 shows a slight difference by race. Fifty-one and three tenths of the Negro families say their neighbors support such housing, 46.5% of the whites indicate this response. Rather than being more opposed to such housing, whites are less certain than Negroes as to their view of such a program.

Perhaps the most controversial form of public housing is that for low income families. It is frequently argued that the Negro middle income person, newly arrived from low socio-economic status, might resent contact with low income groups more than whites. The findings in Table 7 do not support such a view. About two out of every five Negro respondents indicate that his neighbors would favor low income housing in the neighborhood. Less than one in five whites say this is true of his neighbors. Three out of four whites say their neighbors would oppose low income housing; somewhat under half of the Negro families indicate this attitude. Thus, both the white and Negro sample of middle income families is a bit "class conscious," but the issue appears greater for whites than Negroes.

Perhaps the most effective way to summarize the significance of neighborhood ties is to ask people how long they intend to stay in their present setting. This implies that "pull" of the area versus the attractions of other neighborhoods or the disadvantages of their present location. Table 8 indicates the responses received to the question: "All things considered, do you expect to move out of this neighborhood within the next year, within three years, within five years, longer than that, or don't you expect to move in the foreseeable future?" In the middle income sample, almost two-thirds of the Negro families do not expect to move. This is true for somewhat less than half of the white families. Twice as many whites intend to move within a year -- 15% -- as compared to Negroes -- 7.2%. Examing the pattern for a racially changing area -- Northwest Detroit -- whites are more prone to have plans to move and Negro families less likely than in the Middle Income area. However, immediate moving plans are quite similar in the two separate samples. It is observed that the middle income families, both Negro and white will in the first instance be less mobile than they have been in the past, and in the second instance more mobile, For example, Chapter II, Table 7 indicates

that 59.2% of the middle income Negroes had moved within five years, and 33.8% of the whites had moved. This compares with intentions to move in the next five years of 24.8% for Negro families and 38.9% for white families. Clearly, however, the plans of whites will involve movement outside of the city of Detroit.

Summary:

Focus in this section has been the neighborhood, perceptions of it, and one's attachment to it and involvement in it. It was found that:

1. Negro families are more negative in their attitudes toward their neighborhood than whites. In the racially changing Northwest sample area this pattern was reversed. One out of six Negro families expressed clearly negative attitudes toward their neighborhood versus one in twelve whites.
2. Negro respondents report fewer contacts with neighbors on a basis of "spending half an hour or so with them now and then." This pattern persists in the Northwest area, but Negro and whites are almost identical in having lower contact with neighbors in this setting.
3. Negro respondents report more frequent meeting of neighbors when they attend meetings of groups in the community which they belong to as compared to whites. This may reflect the segregation and compression of the Negro community more than any special attachment to local areas. This finding coupled with the conclusions under (1) above suggest an explanation due to ghettoization.
4. When asked about neighborhood cohesion, Negroes report "people in the neighborhood tend to agree on important things" more than whites. This is coupled with little indication of neighborhood conflict. Lack

of involvement with neighbors -- keeping to themselves -- is the modal response for whites. This pa[illegible]evails in the Northwest sample (an interracial situation) to a greater degree than the Middle Income situation. Difference between the two settings is not large and reflects a different perception of neighborhoods for Negro versus white respondents. A somewhat greater "we" feeling exists.

5. In terms of locating housing for the elderly, Negro families are somewhat less receptive than white families. Middle Income public housing is somewhat more favorable to Negro families than to white families. Finally, locating low income public housing in the neighborhood is more negatively viewed by white families in the middle income study as compared to Negro families.

6. Intentions to move reflect greater potential mobility and less attachment to neighborhoods for whites versus Negroes. Where housing is in the higher socio-economic category as in the Northwest survey area, Negroes are less mobility oriented and whites somewhat more so. Using estimates from past mobility it appears that Negro middle income families will be somewhat less mobile and white somewhat more mobile than in the past five years.

Recommendations:

1. That Negroes be urged to seek housing in all areas . . . and be persistent in demanding their rights to open housing.
2. Encourage Negroes to attend and participate in community group meetings -- civic, political, social, and their police precincts.
3. Encourage white neighbors to develop sincere welcoming projects when Negroes move into an integrated neighborhood.

Table 1

NEIGHBORHOODS:
HOW MUCH YOU LIKE IT

	Middle Income		Northwest	
	Negro Families	White Families	Negro Families	White Families
Like it very much	57.5%	69.4%	78.2%	64.5%
Like it somewhat	23.7	24.7	20.5	22.0
Don't particularly like it	11.6	3.8	0.6	7.7
Don't like it at all	5.0	2.1	0.6	4.0
Don't know	2.4	0.0	0.0	1.88
Total	100.0%	100.0%	99.9%	100.0%

Table 2

NEIGHBORHOODS:
NUMBER OF NEIGHBORS KNOW WELL ENOUGH TO SPEND TIME WITH

	Middle Income		Northwest	
	Negro Families	White Families	Negro Families	White Families
None	12.7%	8.4%	20.1%	21.1%
One neighbor	18.8	8.4	11.7	10.1
Two neighbors	13.4	15.5	19.0	14.2
Three neighbors	16.5	16.0	14.5	16.1
Four to six neighbors	23.2	26.8	17.8	27.5
Seven or more neighbors	15.4	24.9	16.8	10.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%	99.9%	99.9%

(Base: 394)

Table 3

NEIGHBORHOODS:
ORGANIZATIONS IN WHICH PARTICIPATION MEANS SEEING NEIGHBORS

	Negro Families	White Families
No organizations where see neighbors	31.5%	51.7%
One organization where see neighbors	26.5	23.6
Two organizations where see neighbors	15.5	13.2
Three or more organizations where see neighbors	26.5	11.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 4

NEIGHBORHOODS:
PERCEIVED COHESIVENESS OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD

	Middle Income		Northwest	
	Negro Families	White Families	Negro Families	White Families
Most people in the neighborhood tend to agree on important things	50.3%	37.6%	47.8%	32.1%
Most people just keep to themselves and don't discuss important issues with one another	33.1	51.2	31.1	54.6
Most people in the neighborhood tend to disagree on important things	4.9	1.1	3.3	1.4
Don't know	11.1	8.9	17.8	11.9
N.A.	0.6	0.5	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 5

NEIGHBORHOODS:
LOCATING PUBLIC HOUSING FOR THE ELDERLY
IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD

	Negro Families	White Families
Most people would favor it	21.0%	30.0%
Some would favor it, some would oppose it	34.8	38.5
Most would oppose it	12.1	13.7
All would oppose it	18.2	8.9
Don't know	13.9	8.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 6

NEIGHBORHOODS:
LOCATING PUBLIC HOUSING FOR LOW INCOME FAMILIES
IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD

	Negro Families	White Families
Most people would favor it	14.4%	2.8%
Some would favor it, some would oppose it	26.4	15.5
Most would oppose it	24.8	38.0
All would oppose it	22.6	37.1
Don't know	11.8	6.6
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 7

NEIGHBORHOODS:
LOCATING PUBLIC HOUSING FOR MIDDLE INCOME FAMILIES
IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD

	Negro Families	White Families
Most people would favor it	22.1%	18.8%
Some would favor it, some would oppose it	29.2%	27.7
Most would oppose it	17.6	17.9
All would oppose it	18.3	15.9
Don't know	12.8	19.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 8

NEIGHBORHOODS:
INTENTION TO MOVE

	Middle Income		Northwest	
	Negro Families	White Families	Negro Families	White Families
Within the next year	7.2%	15.0%	3.3%	14.6%
Within three years	14.3	12.2	5.6	18.7
Within five years	3.3	10.8	7.8	12.3
Longer than that	7.2	12.1	8.3	4.1
Don't expect to move in the foreseeable future	64.1	48.9	72.2	45.7
Don't know	2.8	1.0	2.8	4.6
N.A.	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Chapter VI

ASSESSING LOCAL EDUCATION

Closely related to the involvement of families in their neighborhoods is the role played by the public schools. This portion of the study examines the attitudes and perceptions of the Middle Income families in regard to educational institutions of the community. Because of identical questions, again included is an analysis of the Northwest study responses. The following question was asked in both the Middle Income and Northwest surveys: "One of the things we are interested in is how well the schools are serving different people in this city. First, do you think the schools are doing about as much as they should, too much, or not enough to teach children from families with middle incomes?" In Table 1 the answers given are summarized. In the Middle Income sample, more than half of the white respondents indicated the schools were doing as much as they should. By contrast, about one in five Negro respondents indicated this evaluation. Three out of five Negro families said that schools were "not doing enough." This is twice the proportion indicated by white families. Where comparable neighborhoods are involved, the Northwest survey shows whites and Negroes with similar views of the job of schools. Also in this neighborhood both groups were much more favorable toward the job of schools, although large proportions indicated dissatisfaction with the schools.

In Table 2 the responses to the question asked about the job of schools in teaching children from "low income families" are analyzed. The Middle Income sample is sharply divided by race. Nearly seven out of ten Negro families feel the schools are not doing enough, only 13.3% say the schools are doing as much as they should. In sharp contrast, white families are three times as likely to say the schools are doing "as much as they should" and only 35.7% say they are "not doing enough." Accepting these differences as indicating objectiv-

differences in the quality of education provided in Negro versus white neighbofhoods the responses reflect two "realities." In the Northwest survey area (where the same schools are bases of parent attitudes) a similar perception might be expected since a common experience is involved. Were large differences in perceptions of the schools do persist one might explain this by different "subjective expectations." Thus, many school administrators and others often see Negro families as making "unrealistic" demands on the schools. Examining the attitudes of Northwest Negro and white families little support is found for such a theory. Rather, Negro families are less critical and white families more critical than in the general Middle Income survey. Negro families are still more critical than white families -- but the differences are not as great.

An examination of the answers to the question: "Do you think the schools are doing ... as much as they should ... or not enough to teach children of Negro families?" is necessary to fully grasp the meaning of Tables 1 and 2. The results are shown in Table 3. For Negro respondents in the Middle Income sample there is no difference in the criticism of schools handling the education of Negro children as compared to its teaching of "low income" children. Statistics for the Northwest sample show white and Negro families with a similar pattern to that of Table 2. This implies that whites in this area are either more oriented to the needs of Negro members of the community or they find a common base of evaluation under conditions of interracial contact.

Another aspect of school functioning has to do with the challenge of the school curriculum. In approaching this topic, the question was asked: "In general would you say that public school children in this area are asked to work to hard, about the right amount, or don't they have to work hard enough?"

The answers received are shown in Table 4. In the Middle Income sample one-half of the Negro respondents indicated that children were not asked to work hard enough. One-third of the white sample gave this response. Only one in four whites felt the schools were asking the right amount of work, one in three Negroes gave this answer. In the northwest sample whites and Negroes had much more similar views, but again Negro families were more dissatisfied with the amount of work required.

The prime educational goals as seen by parents is analyzed in Table 5. What should the schools stress? Uppermost in the minds of both Negro and white middle income families was an emphasis on "making children interested in learning." Negro families more frequently placed this as the main educational goal of the schools. The goals of "building good character" and "teaching basic subjects" accounted for 48.9% of the white answers but only 29.9% of the Negro responses. "Preparing children to get jobs" was mentioned by 13.3% of the Negro respondents and only 2.8% of the white respondents. Stress on "discipline" goals -- "keeping children under control" and "teaching good manners" was mentioned more by Negro than white families. As found earlier, the pattern in the Northwest survey is characterized by a greater similarity of Negro and white responses. However, the stress on job preparation and subject matter emphasis are greater for Northwest Negro families as compared to white families.

Vocational skills are seen as more central functions than "character building" for Negro families. For whites, this same goal would appear to be accomplished outside of the school milieu, whereas job skills are linked more directly to education for Negro families. But the most clear finding is that the educational process for white and Negro families is fundamentally that of stimulating children to learn as a goal in and of itself.

We asked families to evaluate the job of the local elementary, junior, and senior high school. In Table 6 we present the findings in regard to the senior high school. These statistics paralleled those for lower levels in the educational process. We asked respondents: "Compared to schools in the suburbs, how would you rate the public senior high school serving this neighborhood?" The statistics indicate sharp differences in how Negro families see their local school as compared to white families. While almost half of the white sample saw the senior high school as "good" or "among the best" only one in five Negro respondents picked these evaluations. Two out of five Negro families said the high school was "fair" or "poor."

When the stimulus presented to responding families is a single high school serving both white and Negro families -- as in the Northwest area -- a reversal of the Middle Income pattern occurs. Here, Negroes are more positive in their assessment of the high school and whites more critical. Clearly the issue of race patterns intervenes. The question then arises as to whether Negroes in middle income status evaluate schools on the basis of their degree of racial integration or their educational product. Are the two issues separated or joined? Table 7 sheds light on this issue. Since Negro and white families in the middle income study are each talking about different schools, we can compare these answers to our Northwest sample to see if schools are critized for racial composition or performance over time. The question we asked was this: "Since you first moved into this neighborhood, have the schools improved the quality of education, have they stayed the same, or have they declined?" Taking first Elementary schools we see that the middle income families (where whites and Negroes are separate) Negro families see more decline than improvement -- whites are about evenly divided on the question. However, in the northwest area -- where a common set of schools is involved -- whites see great decline, Negroes see about

as much improvement as decline. Thus, the white responses appear to be geared to racial composition.

In the case of the Junior Highs, Negro families are more critical than they were about elementaries. Again whites are evenly divided. But in the Northwest sample a racial composition factor would again seem to explain the percentage of families seeing decline. In the case of the Senior High Schools Negroes in the Middle Income survey are twice as likely to see decline as improvement. Whites are once again evenly divided -- most seeing no change in education. In the Northwest sample Negro families more often see decline rather than improvement. Whites see virtually no improvement, most see decline. For each school level Negro families in both the Middle Income (all Negro areas) and the Northwest (heavy Negro in-movement) are similar in their perception of education decline. This implies that throughout the city school perforamnce is at issue not merely at the border of the "Black Ghetto." For whites, by contrast, educational excellence is closely linked to racial movement: Northwest families are critical, other Middle Income white families are generally satisfied. What can be concluded is that whites and Negroes start from different points of view and continue to evaluate schools in terms of this "Base of experience." Whites appear to define quality of education in purely racial terms. Negro families may tend to be too uncritical given their recent movement from unsatisfactory inner city settings. The result is a set of evaluations which suggest how difficult any comparison of group experiences is likely to be.

Summary:

Conclusions from this examination of attitudes and perceptions of local school institutions:

1. White and Negro middle income families see the job of public schools in education of "middle income" children in sharply different ways:

Negro families in three out of five instances say the schools are "not doing enough" while a majority of white respondents say they are "doing as much as they should." Whites in the Middle Income survey are more content with education of low income children than middle income children. The opposite is true for Negro families.

2. As dissatisfied as these families are with the education of middle income children, they are even more critical of the job performed in regard to low income families.

3. These figures are matched in regard to the perception of the education for Negro children. Seven out of ten Negroes find the educational job inadequate -- only one in eight Negro respondents finds it adequate. One in three whites find this job inadequate, another one in four say they don't know how good a job the schools are doing.

4. Where whites and Negroes share a common area of the city, perceptions of the job done for middle income, poor income, and children of Negro families are more similar than in the Middle Income sample. However, even in a common neighborhood setting Negro families are more critical of the job done by schools for all three groups.

5. In the Middle Income survey one in two Negro families indicated that "children don't have to work hard enough." One in four whites gave this responses. The Northwest survey shows a similar although less pronounced difference in attitudes about the schools.

6. Both Negro and white families in the Middle Income and Northwest surveys stress "interest in learning" as the prime educational goal of schools. Second to this, Negro families stress vocational functions for the schools and discipline functions. Whites stress "building good character" and "teaching basic subjects." In the Northwest sample,

priorities for white and Negro respondents concerning educational goals closely match.

7. Rated against suburban schools, Negro families view their local high school as "fair or poor" in two out of five instances. One in six whites pick these evaluations. By contrast whites in the Northwest sample are more critical of the high school than Negro families.

8. The racial component in white evaluations is stressed to the extent that Northwest families see decline in elementary, junior, and senior high schools. Negro families in the city-wide Middle Income survey see relatively more decline than Negro families in the Northwest area. This may be due to a shorter time perspective for these families and to the perceived gain in moving out of the inner-city school districts. The critical stance of middle income Negro families contrasts with the uncritical perceptions of Negroes in the Northwest survey. At the time the uncritical views of the Middle Income survey whites (who lived in white areas) contrasts with the hyper-critical views of whites in the racially shifting Northwest survey area. These attitudes and their roots in different experience bases reflect the difficulty of finding a common basis for evaluating schools apart from racial considerations.

Recommendations:

1. The planning and carrying out of programs specifically designed to provide communication between the community and the schools, and to generate enough interest on the part of parents to motivate them to become involved (actively) in school programs.
2. That schools take the initiative to establish lines of communication with the entire community using whatever media available.
3. That interested parents be encouraged and assisted to organize themselves into councils for the purpose of evaluating various aspects of the educational system.

Table 1

ASSESSING EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS:
JOB OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL OF THE CITY IN TEACHING CHILDREN
FROM MIDDLE INCOME FAMILIES

	Middle Income		Northwest	
	Negro Families	White Families	Negro Families	White Families
Schools are doing as much as they should	21.0%	52.2%	37.8%	39.6%
Doing too much	0.6	1.0	5.0	0.0
Not doing enough	61.3	30.0	27.7	34.9
Don't know	17.1	17.8	29.5	25.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 2

ASSESSING EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS:
JOB OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN TEACHING CHILDREN
FROM LOW INCOME FAMILIES

	Middle Income		Northwest	
	Negro Families	White Families	Negro Families	White Families
Schools are doing as much as they should	13.3%	43.2%	20.8%	31.9%
Doing too much	0.6	1.9	0.6	0.9
Not doing enough	69.1	35.7	62.9	43.7
Don't know	17.0	19.2	15.5	23.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%	99.8%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 3

ASSESSING EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS:
JOB OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN TEACHING NEGRO CHILDREN

	Middle Income		Northwest	
	Negro Families	White Families	Negro Families	White Families
Schools are doing as much as they should	12.7%	38.0%	20.8%	32.9%
Doing too much	0.6	4.7	1.1	2.8
Not doing enough	70.2	33.8	65.2	41.3
Don't know	16.5	23.5	12.9	23.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 4

ASSESSING EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS:
ADEQUACY OF PUBLIC SCHOOL REQUIREMENTS

	Middle Income		Northwest	
	Negro Families	White Families	Negro Families	White Families
Public school children are asked to work too hard	0.0%	1.9%	2.3%	2.3%
Are asked to work about the right amount	25.9	31.9	23.8	23.8
Don't have to work hard enough	49.7	33.4	45.8	36.4
Don't know	24.4	32.8	27.7	36.4
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.6%	96.9%

(Base: 394)

Table 5

ASSESSING EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS:
SCHOOL GOALS

	Middle Income		Northwest	
	Negro Families	White Families	Negro Families	White Families
Make children interested in learning	45.8%	39.5%	46.9%	52.3%
Build good character -- honesty, dependability	16.6	27.3	18.4	22.9
Prepare children to get jobs	13.8	2.8	5.6	1.4
Teach subjects such as science, reading, arithmetic	13.3	21.6	21.8	15.0
Keep children under control and disciplined	5.0	3.7	4.5	4.7
Teach children good manners and how to be polite	3.9	1.8	2.2	1.4
Don't know	1.6	1.1	0.6	2.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 6

ASSESSING EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS:
RATING OF LOCAL HIGH SCHOOL COMPARED TO SUBURBAN SCHOOLS

	Middle Income		Northwest	
	Negro Families	White Families	Negro Families	White Families
Among the best	6.1%	14.1%	17.9%	7.6%
Good	14.4	32.0	20.1	20.8
Fair	26.0	11.7	16.8	22.2
Poor	14.9	4.7	6.7	18.4
Don't know	38.6	37.5	38.6	31.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 7

ASSESSING EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS:
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, JUNIOR HIGH, AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL CHANGES

	Negro		White	
	Improved	Declined	Improved	Declined
Elementary School				
Middle Income	16.6%	23.7%	19.7%	18.7%
Northwest	19.2	21.5	11.8	35.9
Junior High School				
Middle Income	11.0	25.4	13.6	14.5
Northwest	14.0	18.5	9.0	36.3
Senior High School				
Middle Income	12.2	23.8	15.0	14.1
Northwest	11.8	19.7	8.0	42.0

(Base: 394)

Chapter VII

INTERRACIAL CONTACT

This chapter specifically focuses on the direct measures of contact between Negroes and whites in middle income families.

The sampling procedure produced middle income families who are found mainly in racially homogenous parts of the community. Respondents were asked: "In this neighborhood are the families all white, all Negro, or both?" Table 1 shows the responses to this question. It is not possible to precisely gauge the accuracy of these perceptions but it was found that in only two of the 75 blocks drawn for the sample race diversity was present. Early in the interview neighborhood was identified as "the area within walking distance" and "on this block." Thus, the neighborhood was defined as the immediate physical setting. The implication of Table 1 is that Negroes exaggerate the number of whites living in the immediate setting while whites exaggerate the number of Negroes living in proximity to them. This irony of misperception has two immediate implications:

a. Whites and Negroes in middle income settings are less closely in contact that they perceive themselves to be; and, therefore, may be more physically and socially distant than low income whites and Negroes.

b. Neighborhood segregation is a reality which is mutually denied by Negroes and whites and may, therefore, have implications for perceptions of the broader political goals and positions of one group as seen by the other.

To briefly elaborate on these points, it might be argued that Negroes who move up in social status may find it necessary to exaggerate their mobility by viewing themselves as achieving more contact with whites than actually occurs. By the same token, whites who can readily identify Negroes by their high visibility may exaggerate the proportions of Negroes in their neighborhood. Further-

more, if whites of middle income status exaggerate in this manner the result is to accelerate out-migration and serve as a further hindrance to the establishment of stable, integrated neighborhoods. This mutual enforcement process serves to distort social reality in general. Whites come to view Negroes as more affluent and "threatening" or "free" to enjoy first class citizenship than, in fact, they are able to enjoy. At the same time Negroes who view whites as desirable role models may utilize "integrated" neighborhoods as a Status Symbol. Thus, for different motivations, a reciprocal distortion of the segregated reality of the urban middle income community occurs.

To shed further light on the real and perceived interracial contact of the middle income family in the "climate" the neighborhood's interracial contact was analyzed. Table 2 presents the relevant findings.

Table 3 focuses on the issue of interracial and intra-racial social distance. The question was put to respondents: "Suppose the residence next to you is vacant . . . As far as their desirability as neighbors goes, which of these would you rank as first, second, or third choices as neighbors?" White preferences for other whites accounts for 72.4% of the choices with 10.4% indicating a preference for Negroes. For Negro respondents 59.1% express first preference for other Negro families, with 4.5% expressing a preference for whites. Taking into account the nearly two out of five Negro families who say the "Don't know" what their first preference is, Negroes and whites don't differ sharply in their preference for out-group neighbors. Another facet of interracial contact involves "equal status" contact in which both whites and Negroes are more concerned about the social class of the neighbor than his race. In terms of first preferences middle income Negro responses prefer a white collar worker -- race apart -- 58.7%, as compared to 69.2% for whites.

When the three most preferred neighbors are used as a basis of comparison, Negro-white differences reflect the imbalance of race attitudes. The alternative of a Negro doctor is given by 50.3% of the Negro families and 40.0% of the whites. This same status level expressed by a "white lawyer" yields a 32.6% preference by Negro families and 75.3% by whites. In effect, where the socio-economic status of a person is the same -- lawyer versus doctor -- but where race is different a drop of 35% occurs in neighbor preferences by whites. This same comparison for Negroes shows only a 17.4% drop -- i.e., selection of a Negro over a white equal status neighbor. Taking the low status of "Negro family on relief," Negro families prefer this neighbor 16.6% whites selected the low status "while laborer" 51.7% of the time. Whites and Negroes equally select the neighbor of like race with only moderate white collar status (58.8% versus 59.1%). Where a professional occupation is involved, Negro families reduce their race consciousness but whites tend to retain it. Table 3 implies two other points:

a. White preferences do not reciprocate Negro preferences where lower status -- not race -- is eliminated.

b. Negro families reject low status Negroes more than whites reject low status whites as neighbors.

The implication of these findings is that social distance within the Negro community between the Middle Income sample and lower class Negroes is greater than similar distance in the white community. At the same time both groups show strong preferences for members of the same race -- irrespective of the social status of the person. Whites tend to prefer a neighbor of lower status such as a laborer more frequently as a first choice or even as a third choice over a professional person of higher status -- i.e., a Negro medical doctor. Negro families would choose a white lawyer as a neighbor twice as often (32.6% as a Negro family on relief -- 16.6%.

The nature and setting for interracial contacts serves as an important determinant for race attitudes. Contact on a face-to-face basis and in situations where status is relatively equal tends to breakdown stereotypes and promote racial dialogue and understanding. Lack of contact or contact where great differences in status are built-in serve to perpetuate myths and to prevent confrontation of human differences that lie behind social "categories." To assess the nature of contact, the respondents were asked the following questions: "At the present time do you come in contact with other races in any of the following ways?" Table 4 indicates the answers received for each of the eight kinds of interaction mentioned in our interview. What is most striking about this table is that Negro respondents are more likely to have interracial contact than whites. What this implies is simply the dominance of the majority group in all areas of life. However, a further implication of this suggests the irony of charges concerning Negro "separatism." Table 4, if it says nothing more, merely testifies to the "separatism" practiced by Middle Income whites.

Further examination of Table 4 reveals additional insights about middle income interracial contact. The most personalized and status-equal contacts -- where stereotypes are most likely to be broken down -- are reflected in the bottom four forms of contact. According to Table 4, there are presently about one in every four whites that have any contact with Negroes. By contrast, about two in every three Negro respondents has had this form of interracial contact. Thus, the assymetry of significant personal contact lies in the withdrawal of whites not that of Negroes. Table 4 does offer evidence, however, that interracial contact -- at least for the sample of middle income families -- had declined. Comparing the percentages for "ever had close friend of other race" it is found that three out of four Negroes and about one in two whites indicated this form of contact. When the percentages for the "any of eight or ten people

you know best at the present time" we find two out of three Negroes indicating such contact but only one in four whites. Thus, whatever experiences may have been present in the past the current urban community reflects a sharp drop in friendship contact for whites with Negroes and to a lesser extent Negroes with whites.

Table 5 summarizes the extent of interracial contact. By taking all forms of interraction mentioned, the variety and dispersion of contact between racial groups in the middle income sample can be determined. What is particularly noteworthy about the findings in Table 5 is that two out of every five whites do not even have the most impersonal and fleeting of contacts with Negroes -- such as shopping in the same stores. By contrast, one might say that middle income Negroes literally cannot avoid contact with whites -- only 6.1% indicate no forms of interaction. In terms of extensive contacts, over one in three middle income Negroes has three of the eight contacts mentioned; only one in twelve whites has this level of interaction with Negroes. Again the basic conclusion is that within the Middle Income social world racial contact is highly skewed -- with whites avoiding with success -- whether intentionally or not -- contact with Negroes.

Summary:

Elements of social class and race contact among the respondents in the survey have been sketched. These are the major findings:

1. A mutually supported myth of racial integration tends to be present in the perceptions of neighborhoods given by the middle income respondents. Whites and Negroes, for apparently differing reasons, overestimate the racial heterogeneity of their immediate residential setting. This suggests two implications:

a. Whites and Negroes in middle income settings are less closely in contact than they perceive themselves to be, and may in fact be more physically and socially distant than lower income whites and Negroes (and perhaps upper income whites and Negroes).

b. Neighborhood segregation, while a reality, mutually denied by whites and Negroes, may help distort political goals and social values which in reality might be otherwise harmonized.

2. To support the desirability of contact with whites, Negroes may tend to underestimate hostility or indifference from white neighbors, while whites, to help support an orientation toward out-migration appear to exaggerate the negative experiences of contact with Negro neighbors.

3. In terms of preferences for next door neighbors, few whites (one in ten) and fewer Negroes (one in twenty) pass over members of their own race to select members of the other race as first preference.

4. While most preferences for neighbors involve members of the same race, one in three Negroes and two in five whites indicate at least a third place preference for a member of the other race as a next-door neighbor.

5. Status and race are each significant in the choice of neighbors for the middle income respondents. Only one in five Negroes or whites want a person of moderate or low status as a neighbor.

6. Class distinctions in the preference for neighbors is less significant than race for the white respondents in the study. For example, whites would choose a "white laborer" 51.7% of th time as compared to a Negro physician -- 40.0% of the time.

7. Negro middle income families are about equally race and class oriented. While Negro respondents would choose a white lawyer as a neighbor twice as often as a Negro family on relief, they also select -- as at least third choice -- a Negro physician over a white lawyer 50.3% as compared to 32.6%. However, whites would choose a low income white laborer more

than three times as often as Negroes would select a Negro family on relief. Social distance within the Negro community appears greater than in the white sample. Race appears to over-ride all considerations of social position for whites.

8. In terms of the nature and extent of interracial contact, Negroes are found to be in contact with whites much more than whites are in contact with Negroes. This is particularly true of equal-status, personalized interaction. Only one in four whites has more than the most superficial interaction with Negroes. Two out of three Negroes has some form of personalized interaction with whites. Middle income whites are much more "separate" from Negroes than vice versa.

9. Lowering in percentages for present friendship contacts versus reported past friendship contacts suggest a growing separation of middle income whites and Negroes in the urban community. This pattern is far more pronounced for white versus Negro respondents.

10. In terms of the volume of racial interactions, two out of every five whites in the sample indicated none of the eight contacts indicated in the survey. About one in twenty Negroes indicated no contact with whites. While 78.9% of the Negro sample had at least two forms of contact with whites, only 33.0% of whites indicated this level of contact. Three times as many Negroes had over two forms of contact as whites. About two out of every three whites had only one form of interracial contact. In this sense, separatism seems to be a fact for middle income whites.

Recommendations:

1. That religious organizations and other agencies be challenged to expand and intensify all efforts to bring about better human relations, to do whatever is necessary to dispel once and for all the stereotypes and myths that influence the thinking of the majority of white Americans.
2. That the news media be encouraged to use its resources to promote better human relations, by accurate, unbiased reporting; that more attention be given positive trends and events. Honest, straight-forward, verbal, written, and visual reporting can be a powerful force in changing attitudes.
3. Women's volunteer organizations and groups should be challenged to structure situations providing for the natural association of people with various backgrounds. This is an area in which Urban League Guilds could be of great assistance, by taking the initiative in planning and sponsoring interracial events and programs.

Table 1

INTERRACIAL CONTACT:
RESIDENCE

	Negro Families	White Families
Live in all Negro neighborhood	10.5%	0.5%
Live in all white neighborhood	0.6	79.9
Mixed	88.9	19.6
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 2

INTERRACIAL CONTACT:
INTERRACIAL CLIMATE

	Negro Families In mixed areas	White Families In mixed areas
Unusually warm and pleasant	33.1%	16.7%
Reasonably warm and pleasant	55.0	50.0
Neither warm nor pleasant	1.9	4.8
Sometimes unpleasant	3.2	7.1
Always or seriously unpleasant	0.0	2.4
Have no contact with others in neighborhood	6.8	19.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	Base: 160	Base: 42

Table 3

INTERRACIAL CONTACT:
PREFERENCES FOR NEIGHBORS

	Negro Families		White Families	
	1st Choice	Total Choice	1st Choice	Total Choice
Negro medical doctor	41.5%	50.3%	9.9%	40.0%
Negro bank clerk	14.3	59.1	0.5	20.2
Negro family on relief, looking for work	3.3	16.6	0.0	1.4
White lawyer	2.8	32.6	48.9	75.3
White postal clerk	1.1	16.6	9.9	58.8
White laborer	0.6	5.5	13.6	51.7
Don't know	36.4		17.2	
Total	100.0%		100.0%	

(Base: 394)

Table 4

INTERRACIAL CONTACT:
FORMS OF INTERACTION

	Negro Families	White Families
Contact at stores you shop in	96.8%	89.5%
Person of other race is doctor or dentist	77.5	32.8
Person living in your neighborhood	76.4	35.2
At work or in business	75.6	50.6
Ever had close friend of other race	74.0	48.4
Any of eight or ten people you know best are of other race	66.4	24.1
Visit in your home	63.5	30.0
Attend parties	63.5	22.6

(Base: 394)

Table 5

INTERRACIAL CONTACT:
INDEX OF INFORMAL SOCIAL INTERRACTION

Neighborhood, friendship, visiting, and party contact

	Negro Families	White Families
No such contact	6.1%	41.2%
One contact	14.9	25.8
Two contacts	43.1	21.2
Three contacts	35.3	8.5
All four contacts	0.6	3.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Chapter VIII

POLITICAL AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

In pursuit of the ever widening circle of social patterns of the middle income sample, attention is turned to the community. The concern is with the formal channels of political expression and the myriad of voluntary associations that characterize the urban setting. The levels and forms of participation for the families surveyed as well as the direction of this commitment is of greatest importance.

Community Participation:

Table 1 indicates the answers received. Of the fifteen types of groups listed, 15.5% of Negroes and 27.3% of whites indicated no participation. Not only are the middle income Negro families twice as likely to participate in at least one formal organization, but it is noted from Table 1 that over half of the group participate in three or more groups. The corresponding figure for the white sample is about half this proportion -- one in four. Clearly there is a marked difference in the volume of community groups indicated by white versus Negro respondents.

Table 2 provides a specific comparison of types of organizations sample families are active in. The Table also indicates the direction of difference between Negro and white families. For Negroes the highest level of participation occurs for neighborhood associations and block clubs. For whites, church related groups are most frequent. Negro families are five times a likely to belong to neighborhood or block clubs as whites. PTA participation by Negroes is 12.8% greater than for whites. Participation in men's or women's social clubs is twice as high for Negroes as whites. In only two of the twelve cases do whites have greater participation than Negroes; fraternal groups and golf or country clubs.

The findings for membership in voluntary associations is consistent with commentaries by Gunnar Myrdal in An American Dilemma and writings by Drake and Cayton in which the Negro community is described as more complex in associational ties than whites. The explanation has been defined as suggesting a "pathological" distortion of society due to the exclusion of Negroes from the larger and more formal centers of power and privilege. Thus, a sort of compensation is suggested in which Negroes develop an elaborate web of informal groups which provide a substitute base of social life from that of the discriminatory white majority. This argument is a paradoxical one because it implies that such groups are frivolous and not really significant in developing political, social, or economic power. But the findings obtained in this study, rather than indicating the irrelevant character of Negro social participation suggests its great vitality at middle levels of power. What is left unstated is the question of how this form of social involvement is linked to more central and fundamental sources of power and influence. If Negro groups are local and parochial in character it may only reflect the "compressed" nature of the Negro community. Neighborhood and block clubs are important if only because more of the impact of community processes are localized as compared to the white community. The fundamental gap appears to be in drawing upon resources from the outside.

Given this unequal distribution of power and privilege between white and Negro communities it would be no surprise to find Negroes more critical of the operation of all societal institutions. In Table 3 what might be called "alienation from institutions" is measured -- a sense of the failure and worthlessness of the mechanisms for carrying out social goals. Eighteen different groups and institutions are listed. They ranged from Civil Rights groups to clinics and hospitals. Respondents could rate each organization on a scale of "excellent," "good," "fair," "poor," or "very poor" in terms of "the kind of job you think

they are doing." The results shown in Table 3 provide several useful insights. First, of 11 out of the 18 times a comparison was made the ratings were better for whites as compared to Negroes. Secondly, the ordering for race sub-groups agrees in only two instances and rank differences of five positions or more are present in four key areas: The NAACP, the Urban League, the New Detroit Committee, and the police. The Civil Rights Commission ranks better for Negroes than whites. The opposite is true for the public schools; also parochial schools. City government has an equally low ranking for Negro and white respondents -- 14th and 13th respectively. Both militant black power groups and white racist groups rank at the bottom of the list of organizations. Public welfare agencies are ranked equally low. Automobile companies are lower on the ranking for Negroes as compared to whites.

Where whites and Negroes are assessing the economic institutions of the community, less favorable percentages for Negroes are found. While the Federal government is rated more highly by Negroes than whites, state and local governments are less favorably rated by Negroes. Educational institutions -- public and parochical schools -- are far less favorably viewed by Negroes than whites. All of these findings tend to explode a myth which has pervaded much of the discussion of community goals and needs: the view that the low income Negro is the discontented strata of society. What emerges from the findings of Table 3 is a very critical assessment of major social institutions by middle income Negroes. Table 4 further confirms this analysis. The Northwest survey respondents are compared to this study. There were given a very similar list to evaluate. While some shifting of order does occur (as compared to Table 3) banks have a lower rating, police, PTA's, colleges, and universities do somewhat better -- the essential pattern is present. Economic, educational, and police institutions are more favorably evaluated by whites than Negroes. Governmental agencies show

similar if not reversed patterns. Middle income Negro families differentiate the areas of inadequacy and focus on the private economy and educational institutions as in need of the greatest improvements.

Political Participation:

In the latter portion of this section voting patterns and preferences for the middle income sample are evaluated. Table 5 indicates the responses received to the question: "Do you usually consider yourself a Democrat, a Republican, or what?" Three out of four middle income Negro respondents indicated a Democratic party allegiance as compared to two out of five white respondents. One in five Negro respondents indicated an independent or third party preference as compared to two in five white respondents.

Table 6 examines the voting pattern of the survey respondents in the last three major elections since 1960. In the presidential race of eight years ago, there was substantial support among the Negro sample for Mr. Kennedy. At the same time white non-voting in that election is shown to be twice as high as for Negro respondents. Turning to the Johnson-Goldwater election of 1964, it is found that Negro middle income families were equally strong in voting for the Democratic candidate as in 1960. Again non-voting is about half that for whites. The third election shown, that for Governor of Michigan and senator in 1966, shows more than twice the Democratic party support for Negroes as compared to whites. Republican party voting is higher in the state election -- with at least one in five Negroes voting for at least one of the two Republican candidates -- Romney and Griffin. The same choices for whites includes one in two respondents in the sample. Party voting is overall more prevalent for Negro as compared to white respondents. Non-voting is greater for whites than Negroes.

Because this study was conducted prior to the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy the findings presented on presidential candidates preference in 1968, are of historic interest only. Nevertheless, these choices are shown in Table 6. Among Negro voters in the middle income survey (as of April) Robert Kennedy was substantial favorite -- with all three Democratic candidates obtaining 93.4% of the preferences. This is higher than the previous indicated Democratic party strength. Republican candidates obtained only 4% of the Negro preferences. By contrast, 36.2% of the white respondents selected a Republican as a preferred presidential candidate. Using 1960 as a base, this means a 12.1% gain among Negro voters favoring the Democrats and a 12.3% gain for the Republicans among white voters. In addition, one in every twenty white voters indicated a preference for Governor Wallace of Alabama. The conclusions from an examination of Table 7 show that middle income white and Negro voters -- using the sample as a base -- show polarization of political preferences. Even if the "undecided" Negro vote went Republican this would restore the pattern of 1960. For whites the undecided vote of 7.4% if it were to go to Wallace or a Republican candidate, would replicate the Democratic vote for Kennedy in 1960 and Johnson in 1964. It would therefore be more accurate to summarize the political voting analysis by saying middle income Negroes appear even more solidly Democratic in their political views than in recent elections and whites are not really committed to either party in terms of majority voting.

Summary:

Examinations of the topics of community participation, attitudes toward community institutions, and political voting patterns among the middle income respondents produces the following conclusions:

1. Negroes are more active in voluntary community and social organizations than whites. Six out of seven Negroes indicated at least one such involvement as compared to three out of four whites.
2. Specific kinds of organizations show differing involvements for whites and Negroes. Neighborhood associations and block clubs, PTA's men's and women's social clubs, charitable orgainzations, and youth groups are significantly more extensive for Negroes as compared to whites. Fraternal groups and golf and contry clubs are more frequent activities pursued by whites as compared to Negroes in the middle income sample.
3. Negroes are generally more critical of social institutions than whites. Civil Rights organizations and institutions -- private and public -- are more favorably viewed by Negroes than whites. Economic, governmental, and educational institutions are other areas where Negroes show different and more negative evaluations.
4. Whites rate the job of policemen among the best of all community groups while Negro respondents place this institution near the bottom in terms of favorable evaluations.
5. While middle income Negroes do not strongly praise the work of militant black power groups they display a high level of alienation from the operation of most of the major social institutions of the society.
6. Voting patterns in the past three major elections show a consistent party loyalty for Negro respondents in the direction of the Democrats.
7. Non-voting among whites is up to twice as large as for the Negro sample.

8. Current 1968 presidential preferences (April, 1968) indicate greater Democratic support among Negroes than in previous elections coupled with an even split in party preference for white respondents. Clearly, middle income white and Negro families do not share similar political allegiances.

Recommendations:

1. That block clubs be encouraged to organize, and once organized to join with associations of Block Clubs to enhance their power.
2. That law enforcement agencies be urged to intensify their efforts to develop better community relations, particularly in regard to Negro citizens.
3. That women's clubs and other women's groups be encouraged to become more knowledgable about politics and the workings of governmental agencies.

Table 1

POLITICAL AND COMMUNITY PATTERNS:
NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONAL TIES

	Negro Families	White Families
No Organizations	15.5%	27.3%
One Organization	17.1	27.3
Two Organizations	14.3	18.3
Three Organizations	17.0	8.9
Four to six Organizations	25.9	15.0
Seven or more Organizations	10.2	3.2
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 2

POLITICAL AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT:
ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION

	Negro Families	White Families	Difference Col 1-2
Neighborhood association or block club	50.2%	10.8%	+39.4%
Parent-teacher association	44.3	31.5	+12.8
Church or synagogue related clubs or groups	42.5	32.9	+ 9.6
Charitable organization	26.5	15.5	+11.0
Youth groups (scouts, YWCA, etc.)	25.4	14.6	+10.8
Women's or men's social club	23.2	11.7	+11.5
Professional group or auxiliary	18.2	13.1	+ 5.1
Sports team	14.9	12.2	+ 2.7
Fraternal organization or auxiliary	14.3	16.0	- 1.7
Local Democratic or Republican club	11.6	7.5	+ 4.1
Veteran's organization or auxiliary	7.2	4.4	+ 2.8
Golf or country club	3.3	4.2	- 0.9

(Base: 394)

Table 3

POLITICAL AND COMMUNITY PATTERNS:
18 SELECTED GROUPS AND FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS
(Percent excellent or good)

	Negro Families	Rank Order	White Families	Rank Order
Banks	68.0%	(1)	86.8%	(1)
NAACP	62.5	(2)	35.2	(10)
Clinics and hospitals	61.5	(3)	77.5	(2)
Colleges and universities	60.2	(4)	73.9	(4)
The Urban League	49.2	(5)	23.0	(15)
Parent-teacher associations	46.9	(6)	47.1	(8)
Civil Rights Commission	45.8	(7)	33.9	(11)
Federal government	42.5	(8)	39.4	(9)
New Detroit Committee	38.1	(9)	30.5	(14)
Automobile companies	37.0	(10)	62.2	(6)
Public schools	37.0	(11)	51.7	(7)
Parochial schools	32.6	(12)	63.5	(5)
State government	30.4	(13)	33.8	(12)
City government	29.2	(14)	31.0	(13)
Policemen	25.4	(15)	76.0	(3)
Public welfare department	22.1	(16)	20.6	(16)
Militant black power groups	11.1	(17)	6.1	(18)
White groups such as Breakthrough	3.9	(18)	13.2	(17)

(Base: 394)

Table 4

POLITICAL AND COMMUNITY PATTERNS:
15 SELECTED GROUPS AND FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS FROM NORTHWEST DETROIT SURVEY
(Percent excellent or good)

	Negro Families	Rank Order	White Families	Rank Order
Colleges and universities	74.2%	(1)	79.1%	(2)
Clinics and hospitals	68.2	(2)	77.2	(3)
Banks	67.4	(3)	81.0	(1)
Church groups	60.4	(4)	60.3	(5)
Parent-teacher associations	56.2	(5)	51.8	(7)
Civil Rights Commission	48.8	(6)	41.1	(10)
Federal government	43.3	(7)	35.4	(12)
Automobile companies	40.9	(8)	53.2	(6)
Parochial schools	40.4	(9)	44.3	(8)
New Detroit Committee	39.1	(10)	44.0	(9)
Public schools	38.8	(11)	40.2	(11)
Policemen	35.9	(12)	65.2	(4)
State government	33.2	(13)	26.8	(14)
City government	30.1	(14)	30.2	(13)
Public welfare agencies	27.4	(15)	25.3	(15)

Table 5

POLITICAL AND COMMUNITY PATTERNS:
PARTY INDENTIFICATION

	Negro Families	White Families
Usually consider yourself a Democrat	75.2%	40.8%
Usually consider yourself a Republican	3.3	18.3
Usually consider yourself an Independent	12.2	37.1
Other party identification	7.2	1.9
No answer	2.1	1.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 6

POLITICAL AND COMMUNITY PATTERNS:
NIXON-KENNEDY VOTE IN 1960, JOHNSON-GOLDWATER IN
1964, GUBERNATORIAL RACE IN 1966

(1960 Presidential Race)

	Negro Families	White Families
Voted for Kennedy	81.3%	49.3%
Voted for Nixon	2.3	23.9
Did not vote	12.2	23.0
Refused to answer	4.2	3.8
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(1964 Presidential Race)

Voted for Johnson	81.8%	50.7%
Voted for Goldwater	0.0%	22.5
Did not Vote	13.8	23.0
Refused to answer	4.4	3.8
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(1966 State Election)

Voted for Democratic candidates for Governor and Senator	59.3%	27.1%
Voted for Republican candidates	6.1	31.0
Voted a split ticket	14.4	18.8
Did not vote	15.5	20.2
Refused to answer	4.7	2.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 7

POLITICAL AND COMMUNITY PATTERNS:
PRESIDENTIAL CHOICE FOR 1968
(As of May, 1968)

	Negro Families	White Families
(Kennedy)*	62.4%	18.3%
Humphrey	17.7	18.3
McCarthy	3.3	13.6
Rockefeller	1.7	14.1
Nixon	1.1	13.6
Wallace	0.0	5.2
Percy	0.6	4.7
Romney	0.6	1.9
Reagan	0.0	1.9
Other	0.0	1.0
No Choice	12.6	7.4
Total	100.0%	100.0%

*Interview conducted prior to assassination

(Base: 394)

Chapter IX

CIVIL RIGHTS INVOLVEMENT AND PRIORITIES

Given the dramatic and often breathtaking events pertaining to race relations in our society, it is important to assess how the middle income sample has reacted to and how they are a part of the events of these last several years. A series of questions dealt with this important topic. Table 1 presents responses to the question: "How active have you been in human rights activities? Would you say very active, somewhat active, not very active, or not at all active?" The responses indicate the expected difference between Negroes and whites. Only one in every six whites indicates any level of involvement in civil rights. In comparison three out of every five Negroes indicated involvement. Combining the "very" and "somewhat" categories reveals that 38.6% of middle income Negroes and 9.0% of whites indicate participation in civil rights activities.

Civil Rights Participation and Goals

Respondents were asked about particular kinds of involvement in civil rights. Table 2 summarizes the findings. Nearly three out of five Negro families contributes money to an organization, two out of five participated in the 1963 march on Woodward, one in three Negroes attend meetings about civil rights, almost one in five has written a letter, over one in ten Negroes has been in a demonstration or picketing effort. The percentages of whites are substantially lower although financial contributions and attendance at meetings, writing letters, and serving in groups are mentioned in modest proportions. The activity of whites appears to be concentrated among a relatively small but active minority. Only one in six whites has been active even to the extent of a financial donation; two out of three Negroes have at least this form of participation. What is seen in the middle income survey is active white minority and an involved Negro majority.

What about the primary goals of the civil rights movement? Families were asked the following: "Here is a list of things which Civil Rights leaders have been concerned about. Which do you think is most urgent, the second most urgent, and which is the least urgent?" Table 3 presents the findings for the first and second most important civil rights goals.

Taking the first and second choice of respondents together some important patterns emerge in the statistics. Civil rights goals involving economic change are mentioned 78.4% of the time by Negro respondents and 61.5% by whites. Goals involving political control are mentioned 25.5% by Negroes and 17.4% by whites. Goals involving integration are mentioned 31.6% by Negroes and 24.4% by whites. Goals dealing with education per se are indicated by 57.4% of the Negro respondents and 87.8% of the white respondents. Negro respondents see civil rights in a uni-demensional fashion. They stress the need for education over political, economic, or integration gains for Negroes. By contrast, Negro middle income respondents see Civil Rights goals spread through a series of institutional and social avenues, primarily economic opportunity in the job market. Local autonomy is not a particularly prime direction of movement. Neither is societal integration. Performance in the economic and educational sphere seems to be the uppermost priority.

Reversing the stress of Table 3, Table 4 reveals the goals which were viewed as least urgent by Negro and white respondents. This negative profile offers several insights. First of all local control and integration programs are among the most rejected priorities of the civil rights effort. Jobs, schools, and Negro political power are seldom rejected as prime goals. By contrast, whites do not reject neighborhood control of schools, but they do devalue as goals local control of the police, anti-poverty programs, public accommodation integration, and Negro elective power. Whites and Negroes are not far apart in what

they see as the requirements for the civil rights movement. The only area of major difference appears to be in the political sphere. It is here that whites underrate the need for Negroes in political office and accept, more than Negroes, the idea of local control of schools.

In terms of the future of the civil rights movement, two questions were asked: one on the elimination of racial discrimination and the other on the need for white aid. Table 5 presents the findings for expectations about ending bias. Since the same question was asked in the Northwest Survey two comparisons are available. In the middle income survey whites and Negroes share pessimism as to eliminating discrimination. Whites lean slightly more in that direction in comparison to Negroes. In the Northwest Survey even greater pessimism prevails. Here three out of five Negroes and three out of four whites see no immediate change in race bias.

On the question of white aid to the cause of Negro rights, whites and Negroes have differing views. In the middle income survey, about two out of five whites feel that Negroes can solve "their problems without any help from whites," but only one in four Negroes take this position. In the case of the Northwest Survey versus Middle Income Survey -- white aid to the cause of the Negro is mutually supported by Negroes and whites. In the other instance there is less a rejection of such a position than a more limited support of it.

When the interviewing of middle income families had been in operation for a short time, the tragedy of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assasination took place. Because of the importance of this forthright leader and spokesman for civil rights goals, a question was included in our survey about the impact of his death: "What effect do you think the death of Dr. King will have on the country?" Table 7 summarizes the answers obtained. In the main, Negro respondents felt the assasination would aid white response to civil rights -- almost one in two Negroes

gave such a reply. Only 1.7% thought it would weaken white support. By contrast the whites in the middle income survey saw the King assasination as strengthening militant Negro groups. This difference expresses the dramatic gap in perceptions which as been so frequently cited in the analysis.

Cause of Rioting:

A most significant question is how people have come to interpret what happened in the summer of 1967. To a very large degree we all act on what we see in the world not what is actually there. As the great sociologist, W. I. Thomas, stated, "Events are real when they are defined as real." How the person perceives riots ar rebellions is more important that what in fact they started out as or are analyzed to be. Table 8 indicates the rank-order of riot causes which respondents stated as having "a great deal" to do with the disturbance.

What is most striking about the statistics shown in Table 8 is the remarkable difference in perceptions (24.3% between Negro and white respondents). Among the most divergent cause are "police brutality" -- second in order for Negroes in the Middle Income Survey, sixteenth for whites; "lack of jobs" -- fourth for Negroes, ninth for whites; "disappointment with white public officials," -- fifth for Negroes, and tenth for whites; "poor housing" -- third for Negroes, and seventh for whites. Thus, while Negroes stress police brutality, poor housing, lack of jobs and anger at local white business, whites stress teenagers, black nationalism, hatred of whites, and "police not active enough" as disturbance causes.

Is the remarkable divergence of white and Negro riot perceptions reduced where a common area of the city is surveyed -- i.e., the Northwest sample?

Table 8 indicates that the answers are in the main a negative one. With few exceptions whites in that survey tend to see a set of causes quite apart from those seen by their Negro neighbors. In both samples, whites examine the same set of events and come away with radically different explanations and perspectives. If there is any indication of the failure of media institutions, educational institutions, and programs of racial understanding it must be measured by the remarkable gap in common understanding defined by Table 8. This is not to say "who is right" but only to note the absence of common dialogue for the most directly pertinent events in a community.

Summary:

In this examination of civil rights participation, attitudes, and perceived goals -- the following patterns emerge:

1. Only one in six middle income whites indicate any form of financial or direct involvement in the civil rights movement. Three out of five Negroes indicate such participation.
2. One in ten Negro respondents has been in a demonstration or picketing effort for civil rights, two out of five reported being in the 1963 March on Woodward, one in five has written a letter on civil rights problems.
3. Negro priorities in the civil rights movement stress economic, educational, political, and social goals - white priorities stress education as the main goal. Both local control and integration goals have less priority for Negroes than change in other institutional forms. Overall Negroes stress a multi-directional set of priorities, whites stress a single avenue for change, and they tend to devalue Negro political control as a prime goal.

4. Both Negroes and whites are more pessimistic about the ending of discrimination in the near future than they are optimistic. In the Northwest sample where neighborhood integration occurs, pessimism for both groups is greater than for the middle income sample across the entire community.

5. Two out of five whites feel Negroes "can solve their own problems without help from whites" but only one in four Negroes take this position. In the Northwest Survey three out of four whites say Negroes cannot "go it alone" and only one of five Negroes believe they can.

6. The immediate reaction to the assasination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was seen as binding racial groups more often among Negro respondents than among white respondents. Almost one in two Negro respondents felt the tragic death of King would "improve the white response to civil rights" -- only one in five whites took this view. Ten times as many whites felt the King assasination would help militant groups as did Negroes.

7. Perceptions by whites and Negroes to Detroit's civil disorder of July, 1967, show sharply contrasting "realities." Whites stress the rioting as a product of teenagers, black nationalists, and anger at local white businesses. Negroes stress anger at local white businesses, police brutality, poor housing, and lack of jobs. In the Northwest survey area riot perceptions, while somewhat more alike still retained remarkably different perceptions between Negro and white respondents. The divergency of understanding of common community events reflects the separation in experiences and social worlds of middle income Negroes and whites.

Recommendations:

1. Some means must be found to impress upon the white community the fact of its responsibility in meeting the great challenge of this day: that of truly providing equality of opportunity to all. Results of the survey indicate that middle income whites have not fully grasped the gravity of the civil rights dilemma and struggle in the country today.

2. There is a need for programs which would promote greater understanding among the majority of citizens of the problems, frustrations, and seemingly negative attitudes of the minorities.

3. The setting up of a permanent voter education program. This should include informative sessions on civic and political rights, in an attempt to motivate men and women to become more interested and involved in political activities.

4. That local and state officials be constantly reminded of their responsibility to include minority group members in all their appointments to public office, and policy making posts.

5. Fraternities, sororities, and other professional organizations should be reminded to be ever on the alert to propose the names of qualified persons for public service to officials who have appointive power.

Table 1

CIVIL RIGHTS:
DEGREE OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

	Negro Families	White Families
Very Active	13.8%	2.4%
Somewhat Active	24.8	6.6
Not very active	20.4	7.0
Not at all active	39.8	84.0
N. A.	1.2	0.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 2

CIVIL RIGHTS:
PARTICIPATION IN THE MOVEMENT
(Percent saying active)

	Negro Families	White Families
Donation or membership in national or local organization	57.5%	13.1%
Participated in the 1963 march in Detroit	38.9	0.5
Attended meetings	32.1	7.0
Writing letters	18.2	4.7
Held office or active on a committee	14.8	3.8
Sit-in demonstrations or picketing	11.1	1.9
Overall Activity		
At least one activity	66.0%	16.5%
No activity	34.0	83.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 3

CIVIL RIGHTS:
GOALS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS EFFORT

	Negro Families		White Families	
	Most Urgent Goal	Second most Urgent	Most Urgent Goal	Second most Urgent
Better jobs	47.5%	23.2%	30.1%	20.6%
Keeping Negro high school students in school	20.4	12.2	36.2	17.8
More Negroes in elective office	11.6	9.4	1.4	8.4
Better schools	8.3	16.5	11.7	22.1
Promote open housing	3.3	19.4	3.8	8.9
Ending bias in public accommodations	3.3	2.8	3.3	4.7
A better poverty program	2.2	5.5	5.6	5.2
Local neighborhood control of police	0.6	2.8	1.9	2.8
Local neighborhood control of schools	0.6	0.6	1.0	1.9
More school integration	0.0	2.8	1.4	2.3
No answer	2.2	3.8	3.6	5.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 4

CIVIL RIGHTS:
LEAST URGENT GOALS

	Negro Families	White Families
Local neighborhood control of schools	23.8%	8.4%
Local neighborhood control of police	22.1	19.7
Ending bias in public accommodations	18.8	16.9
A better poverty program	7.2	16.4
Promote open housing	6.1	6.6
More school integration	3.9	8.9
Keeping Negro high school students in school	3.3	2.8
More Negroes in elective office	2.2	10.3
Better schools	1.7	1.0
Better jobs	0.6	3.3
No answer	10.3	5.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 5

CIVIL RIGHTS:
EXPECTATIONS ABOUT FUTURE DISCRIMINATION

Racial discrimination is here to stay for a long time

	Middle Income		Northwest	
	Negro Families	White Families	Negro Families	White Families
Strongly agree	31.0%	35.2%	31.5%	39.3%
Somewhat agree	27.6	36.5	36.3	35.6
Somewhat disagree	23.8	19.3	18.0	16.0
Strongly disagree	14.4	13.6	19.6	7.8
Don't know	3.2	1.4	0.6	1.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Base: 181	Base: 213	Base: 178	Base: 219

Table 6

CIVIL RIGHTS:
ATTITUDES ABOUT WHITE AID TO THE NEGRO

If Negroes would try harder, they could solve their problems without any help from whites.

	Middle Income		Northwest	
	Negro Families	White Families	Negro Families	White Families
Strongly agree	12.7%	22.6%	5.1%	6.9%
Somewhat agree	14.9	20.2	15.9	16.9
Somewhat disagree	21.0	27.2	28.4	22.4
Strongly disagree	48.1	26.4	50.0	52.5
Don't know	3.3	3.6	0.6	1.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7

CIVIL RIGHTS:
EFFECTS OF THE DEATH OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

	Negro Families	White Families
Improve white response to civil rights	45.3%	19.9%
Cause Negro leadership crisis	12.0	3.3
Unify entire society	7.7	7.5
Strengthen militant Negro groups	3.4	27.5
Weaken moderate Negro groups	2.6	0.0
Worsen white response to civil rights	1.7	0.0
Further polarize entire society	1.7	0.0
Don't know	25.6	36.8
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	Base: 117	Base: 120

Table 8

CIVIL RIGHTS:
ATTITUDE TOWARD THE DETROIT RIOT: 17 SELECTED CAUSES
(Percent saying "a great deal" for specific cause)

	Middle Income		Northwest	
	Negro Families	White Families	Negro Families	White Families
Anger at local white business people	41.4%	35.1%	35.8%	33.5%
Police brutality	39.8	4.7	40.8	6.4
Poor housing	35.8	23.5	49.4	37.9
Lack of jobs	34.9	19.2	42.7	35.8
Poverty	32.0	21.6	41.9	37.9
Disappointment with white public officials	32.0	18.3	27.0	12.9
Hatred toward whites	23.8	27.6	20.2	36.4
Police not active enough	19.3	28.7	24.2	22.0
Teenagers	18.2	45.5	22.0	34.4
Black nationalism	14.9	44.2	14.8	43.1
Frustration of middle class Negroes	13.8	11.3	9.6	12.4
Disappointment with Negro public officials	13.8	5.2	13.5	7.8
Failure of schools	12.1	9.4	16.4	11.5
Not enough integration	10.5	6.1	16.9	11.1
Lack of welfare services	6.1	3.3	9.0	2.3
Anger at local Negro business people	5.0	12.6	-	-
Too much welfare	3.3	24.4	10.7	17.5

*The original question was: "How much would the following things contribute to causing the Detroit disturbance?" Possible answers were: a great deal, something, nothing at all, and don't know. Percentages in the table are for the answer "a great deal."

Chapter X

GROUP IDENTIFICATION

An interesting and significant phenomena in the area of human relations has been the emergence of a new vocabulary and rhetoric concerning ethnic identification. Given the complexity and emotional impact of a newly emerging group pride, it would be beyond the scope of this report to attempt to assess the meaning and consequences of these changing concepts.

Among the most visible elements in the emergence of the "New Negro" has been the language by which group identification is defined. "Black consciousness" and "Afro-American" linkages are given wide attention in the mass media. How much "race consciousness" exists in the middle income white and Negro samples? To tap this dimension of group life, interviewees were asked the following question: "As you know America is made up of people from different backgrounds. If ethnic identifications were used, by what term of terms would you prefer to be know?" Table 1 summarizes the "race" identity patterns. Answers ranged from simple statements such as "just an American" to "scotch-Anglo-Saxon American." "Geographical" and racial identifications have been separated. This is not a very precise distinction and for many individuals who say "Scotsmen," it is very clear there are overtones of a cultural-racial identity, not merely a physical location of one's ancestors. Table 1 shows that over a third of the white respondents mention a geographical designation when identifying their ethnic label. Almost half of the white sample selected "American" to define their ethnic identity. Twelve and seven tenths percent of the white respondents chose terms which were clearly racial in implication: "White," "Caucasian," etc. For Negro respondents, only one in ten said they are simply "Americans." Over seven out of ten Negroes in the sample saw their primary identification to be

racial. One in ten mentioned a geographical location without a directly racial connotation. Few of the Negroes in the sample -- 5.5% -- and fewer whites chose to say that there were no ethnic identifications that made any difference. Table 1 suggests two conclusions: First that Negroes, even of middle income status generally see themselves as not simply "Americans." Secondly, that whites, to a surprising degree, also hold some form of racial or geographical-cultural-racial identity as important -- about half of the sample.

Besides giving some racial or geographical designation, the respondents in the sample were asked to define the content of that identification. The specific question asked was: "Here are some ways of looking at group identity. Which of these applies to you?" Table 2 contains the responses received to the four elements of ethnic identity suggested in the question. These answers reflect some significant definitions of group identity. Among Negro respondents, religious and cultural meanings of ethnic ties accounts for nearly one-half of the "mostly applies" alternatives. About one in five Negroes indicated "Race" while another one out of five indicated a "Don't know" response. A social class definition was the least mentioned explanation of group identity. For whites, cultural explanations were twice as frequent as for Negroes -- 35.7%. Only 2.3% of the white respondents indicated that ethnic identity was tied to race as such. Social class explanations were given by one in seven whites, religion by one in five. Another way to compare the white and Negro answers is to note that social class and cultural definitions of groups that are given by half of the white sample but only one-quarter of the Negro sample. The difference for Negroes goes into the "race" category.

Using both the "mostly applies" and "second mostly applies" answers, it is seen that a religious dimension is given by one in two white and Negro respon-

dents. A racial definition of ethnic group appears for nearly two out of five Negroes, slightly more than one in ten whites. Cultural and social class definitions are mentioned by four out of five whites but only one in two Negroes. These findings support the view that white identity is rooted rather broadly in a set of social linkages and heritage which form an important basis of self-identity. The relative absence of this in the Negro sample seems to provide some explanation of the recent movement toward group pride and positive self-image so prevalent in the current discourse about the "Negro revolution." Table 2 tends to support the contention that the white individual carries a set of elaborate meanings about his past and his current place in the world and that Negroes are more likely to carry a race label without a highly developed social heritage built around this identity.

Further examination of the ethnic identification patterns of the Negro sample is given in Table 3. Here is summarized the various terms employed by respondents in the stating of group ties. The most frequent reference employed is "Negro" and is used by more than half the respondents who indicated any ethnic identification. Under "non-racial" designations are respondents who said they were "Americans," or who said, "it makes no difference." The proportion of individuals employing the term "black" or "African" in defining group allegiance account for 22.2% of the sample. One way to evaluate the findings presented in Table 3 is to suggest that there is a great deal of variation present in group identity, but the common usages of a more traditional nature are in overwhelming preferences. Given the current discussion about "black" versus "Negro" it is likely that the percentages shown in Table 3 may reflect change that has occurred or correction for those who have perceived a dramatic redefinition or identification. Whichever explanation is used it is important to link this to the findings of

Table 2. With that in mind it would seem reasonable to conclude that middle income Negroes view ethnicity more in its physical sense -- regardless of the specific denotation employed -- than in its cultural or sociological sense. It cannot be assessed from this one-time sample whether the extent of shift toward the meanings more characteristic of such concepts is great or small. What can be said is that the more traditional identities seem to persist.

Another way to assess the ethnic content of Negro-white differences is to seek a separation in the characteristics of Negro from other minority groups in the society. How widely shared among white and Negro respondents is the view that Negroes are not just another ethnic minority? To focus on this issue it was asked: "Many people have been saying that the handicaps of the Negro are different than the handicaps faced by other groups. In your opinion what if any are the important differences in the experiences of Negroes as compared to other groups such as immigrants from other lands?" Table 4 summarizes the types of answers that respondents gave. To confirm our earlier observation, Negroes tend to stress group uniqueness in physiological sense -- that is differences in visibility due to skin color. It is equally important, however, to note that purely economic handicaps is mentioned as frequently. White respondents show a somewhat surprising pattern: cultural beliefs and values -- is the most frequently mentioned basis of Negro uniqueness. Skin color is a close second choice. Whites twice as often indicate that "no special handicaps" exist. This answer tends to reflect a view that Negroes, if they have problems they do not differ from those faced by white immigrant groups.

If the responses which reflect three bases of special Negro differences are grouped -- i.e., "social structural," "cultural," and "physical" -- it is found that Negro responses are distributed as follows: 38.3%, 7.7%, and 29.4%

respectively, while white responses are 20.6%, 23.0%, and 21.6%. These answers reflect some very basic differences in comprehending the role of Negroes in the overall society. Whites are half as likely to see the handicaps of Negroes built into the structure of the society. Note the differences in terms of economic handicaps: Negro 29.4% and white 3.3%. At the same time whites seem to replace this explanation with an implicit view that Negroes have inappropriate or different values and "cultural beliefs." Without again seeking to define what is "really" correct one can only point out the difficulty presented by such divergences in definition of what the problem is. The implications of different views by Negro and white middle income families reflects how one views oneself and the "outgroup." These concepts are the unspoken levers of social action and social policy.

Summary

In a cursory examination of the meaning and significance of ethnic identity, the following trends emerge:

1. White respondents when asked about ethnic identity answered in terms of a geographical or racial designation in one out of two instances. The remaining whites used the term "American" without other qualifications.
2. Seven out of ten Negro respondents used an exclusively racial term to define ethnic identity. Only one in ten Negroes used the term "American" without other qualifications.
3. The prime basis of ethnic identity differed significantly between Negro and white respondents. Whites mentioned cultural or social class as a basis for identity in one of two instances. Only one in four Negro respondents chose these basis of identity. Race as a basis without explanation was chosen by one in five Negro respondents,

only 2.3% of whites chose this basis. Where two basis of identity are added together a racial basis is given by two in five Negroes and one in ten whites. While one in two Negroes mention cultural or social class basis, more than four out of five whites select these explanations of ethnic identification. These findings point to the fact that whites are very likely to carry a heritage of group allegiance and to be less than fully assimilated as merely "Americans." Negroes in our sample have a concept of "race" which appears to correspond to the more specific meaning defined by whites in the sample.

4. Negro group identity tends to follow more conventional usage in that "Negro" is the most prevalent term defining group ties. Black and Afro-American or related terms are employed by one out of five of the respondents in the sample. The diversity of labels employed reflects a shifting definition of group identity but the findings already noted imply that Negro middle income persons' ethnicity is not as fully developed as the whites in the survey. What changes may be occurring would require a comparative or sequence of surveys using the same questions concerning ethnic identity.

5. When asked about the unique handicaps of Negroes, one in five whites indicated there were none, while only one in ten Negroes stated this view. Of those seeing unique handicaps, Negroes mentioned "social structural" reasons twice as often as whites. Skin color alone was as frequently mentioned as the unique handicap by Negroes as economic hindrances. Whites most often stated that "cultural beliefs and values" are the source of unique handicaps. The sharp differences in perceiving the root of Negro "problems" reflects the differences in "definition of the situation" which has been frequently noted in

earlier findings. These differences in fundamental perceptions carry important implications for the future pattern of race relations.

Recommendations:

1. Findings in this chapter stress the need for more and more educational programs directed at the masses, to eradicate prejudices against racial and ethnic groups.
2. Crash programs should be sponsored by groups of all kinds -- labor unions, women's clubs, civic and youth organizations, etc., to provide for fuller participation of minorities in the social, economic, and political life of the community.

Table 1

ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION:
GROUP LINKAGE

	Negro Families	White Families
Geographical-Racial designations	10.5%	34.7%
Racial	71.4	12.7
American	10.5	46.1
No differences	5.5	1.8
Don't know	2.2	3.7
N.A.	0.0	1.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 2

ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION:
BASIS OF GROUP IDENTITY

	Negro Families		White Families	
	Mostly applies	First or second mostly applies	Mostly applies	First or second mostly applies
Religious	27.8%	46.6%	21.6%	45.6%
Racial	21.0	38.6	2.3	11.7
Cultural	18.8	34.9	35.7	50.2
Social class (ones common world)	7.7	20.4	14.1	32.9
Don't know	22.1	27.6	27.8	25.8
Something else	0.8	2.9	1.8	3.7
Not app.icable (no ethnic identification)	1.8	4.9	4.3	5.6
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 3

ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION:
PREFERENCES OF DESIGNATION FOR NEGRO RESPONDENTS

"Negro"	45.9%
"Afro-American"	9.4
"Black"	9.4
"Colored"	7.2
"American Negro"	6.1
"Black American"	2.2
"African Decent"	1.1
"Brown"	0.6
Non-racial designations	18.1
Total	100.0%

Base: 181

Table 4

ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION:
PERCEIVED GROUP DIFFERENCES

	Negro Families	White Families
Economic (Housing, Jobs)	29.4%	3.3%
Physiology (Skin Color)	29.4%	21.6
Education	6.1	11.7
Cultural beliefs and vaules	5.5	23.0
Historical (slavery)	2.2	7.1
Organization (lack of cohesion)	1.7	1.4
Family structure	1.1	4.2
No special handicaps	9.4	21.6
N.A.	15.2	6.1
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Chapter XI

WORK WORLDS

The work world of individuals in one of the most basic roles played in social life. This central life activity of job and occupation has been increasingly specialized and separated from other institutions and commitments. Social analysts have seen two concerns: first that middle income families are alienated from their work -- that it no longer is a source of satisfaction and personal worth; and secondly, that work is a separate compartment of life cut off from other spheres of individual existence. These concerns when coupled with the blockages of racism might will suggest a careful examination of job patterns and satisfactions.

To begin the analysis, Table 1 presents the facts about time commitment to work for the middle income head of a household. Where the earlier data had shown that Negroes are less likely to be in white collar jobs, the implications of this difference is seen. Only one in fifteen Negro respondents indicated a work week of under forty hours. Nearly one in two of the white respondents in our sample works for fewer hours than this. Lest these striking figures imply simply the lower return in come implied by this difference it must also be noted that at the high end of the time scale -- nearly one in four white respondents reports a work week of 50 hours or more. This is true of one in six Negro respondents. Clearly the concentration in Negro sample working hours points to the rather fixed schedules of hourly employment and the greater blue-collar basis of employment in this sample. This again points up the fact that the white middle income group is more professionalized, more likely to be college educated and, therefore, enjoy the benefits of leisure and freedom in work patterns not found in the Negro sample.

Table 2 presents information concerning the length of employment at the current job situation. About one in two Negro respondents has been at the same job for ten years or longer. This is true of two in five white respondents. Negro and white respondents show equal proportions in under two years at their present position. The patterns shown in Table 2 suggests a greater stability of employment in the middle income Negro sample which in turn may be viewed as a positive or negative outcome. On the positive side it suggests the possibility of stronger community roots and work satisfaction for Negroes in the sample. The negative implication is the ceiling effects of job mobility implied by the findings.

To further assess the work history and mobility patterns data was obtained on the number of jobs respondents have held since leaving high school. Table 3 presents these findings. Twenty-eight and two tenths percent of the Negro sample and only 19.3% of the white sample now hold the same job for this entire period. This difference might be at the other extreme of frequent job shifts, Negroes show a higher proportion in this category than whites -- 23.1% versus 15.8%. This paradox of Negroes being both more stable and more mobile in job holding is even harder to explain, keeping in mind the smaller number of white collar professionals and the larger number of operatives and unskilled workers in the Negro sample as compared to the white sample. This would imply two things about the Negro workforce represented in the sample: 1) fixed ceiling jobs in blue collar industries are more prevalent than for white respondents, 2) "Horizontal" mobility within a fixed skill level -- moving from one similar job to another -- is a substitute for the "career" ladder of white collar employment in the white sample. These implications are one way to integrate the findings of Tables 2 and 3. In the first instance there was as much Negro recent job holding but substantially more long-term job holding. Both patterns fit into a notion of frequent vertical

mobility for many Negro respondents coupled with non-mobility as an equally large white group.

Table 4 examines the role of entrepreneurship for Negroes and whites. The data suggests virtually no differences in the proportion of self-employed persons. However, the somewhat larger number of whites retired or otherwise not in the workforce tends to minimize the racial difference in self-employment. Thus, 85.6% of employed Negro respondents are not self-employed, while 83.1% of whites are in this category. But even this small difference suggests that being in the middle income group seldom means an entrepreneural line of work. When we asked respondents the question: "Have you ever thought of going into a self-employed line of work?" we find that one out of two white respondents and two out of three Negro respondents give an affirmative answer. The results are shown in Table 5. So the figures in Table 4 may greatly underestimate the interest and possible development of Negro entrepreneural enterprises.

One of the topics of concern in the analysis of work patterns was the source of decision-making about one's occupation. A series of questions about influences the individual felt in this regard were asked. Respondents were asked: "How about teachers or experiences while in the course of formal schooling. How important have these been in choosing your line of work?" The responses are shown in the top section of Table 6. About half of the Negro sample said that such influences were at least "somewhat important." Thirty-six and nine tenths percent of the white respondents made this indication.

The middle section of Table 6 shows whether the influence -- if it was at all important -- occurred in high school or college. Because a much smaller proportion of the Negro middle income sample has attended college it is surprising to note that relatively few Negroes were stimulated in an

employment choice by a high school experience in comparison to whites -- 56.5% versus 66.7%. Clear implication can be drawn from this difference that the effects of high school are far less important than one should expect. The failure in these institutions is not a criticism unique to this report.

The lowest section of Table 6 indicates if the source of influence was derived from the educational material or the personnel of the school. There is an indication of a slight trend toward Negro respondents to be more influenced by teachers than whites. In both instances it is seen that the formal educational process has an impact that is not primarily derived from the skills and knowledge obtained in school but in the personal interactions that take place with teachers.

Another source of job selection has to do with peer groups and acquaintances that a person develops. Table 7 examines the role of this influence on job selection. Over four out of five Negro respondents indicate that friends had little or no role in their selection of an occupation. This is true for two out of three white respondents. Nearly twice the proportion of whites attribute to friends a strong influence in job selection. Given the different socio-economic position of Negroes and whites, it is important to point out the apparent "isolating" process implied by Table 7. In effect it is noted that Negroes who are now in middle income occupational roles appear to have achieved this social mobility in terms of insulating themselves from their peers. This implication is drawn because of the absence of friends influenceing their job choices. Whether such a process is in fact desirable or necessary cannot be assessed from our data. But it is evident that where individuals choose an important reference group -- that is, a group or group representative that one models ones behavior after -- it effects their values and goals.

Table 6 shows Negro respondents stressing the role of teachers and in Table 7 they devalue the role of friends. The implication would appear to be that mobility for Negroes in a setting of a low socio-economic background requires the careful choice of reference models. One result is that an individual may have to reject peer group values and seek to emulate the values of middle class persons such as teachers. The data hints at such a process for middle income Negro respondents.

One of the most basic elements of work is the degree of satisfaction which one derives -- something which helps define the dignity and self-worth of the individual. Many questions which ask a person how well he likes his job may catch only the superficial views of the moment or may reflect circumstances not directly related to the actual occupation one pursues. To overcome this more superficial approach, job satisfaction is measured by asking respondents the following question: "What type of work would you try to get into if you could start all over again?" Table 8 contains the answers received. The proportion of respondents choosing the "same line of work" comprise one out of every five white and Negro respondents in the sample. In other words, four out of five persons were dissatisfied enough with their present line of work to indicate they would not again pursue it if they had the chance.

In Table 8 insight is gained into the occupational goals of the sample respondents. Of the dissatisfied Negro respondents, 64.2% of the total (or four out of five dissatisfied) chose white collar occupations. For white respondents, 71.6% chose white collar jobs (over seven out of eight of the dissatisfied). What these figures seem to imply is that mobility aspirations are somewhat more conservative for the Negro sample as compared to the white sample. It must be remembered that twice as many white respondents are already in white collar positions as compared to Negro respondents, the findings in Table 8 in this chapter tell a different story.

What may be concluded is that Negro respondents are higher in their aspirations than white respondents. Whereas 3/5ths of the Negro sample is in the blue-collar occupational category, of the dissatisfied group in Table 8 only one in five chooses another blue collar position, or 60% versus 25%. For the white sample it is known from Chapter II that three out of four are in white collar jobs and one in 15 respondents chooses a blue collar position or 25% compared to 8%. For Negroes then, twice the proportion of dissatisfied respondents seeks a white collar position as compared to white respondents.

Another measure of job satisfaction is the link to financial return. That is, will the income offer a proper reward? Rather than evaluating this directly respondents were asked: "What would be the highest income you expect to earn in any one year during your lifetime -- figured in today's dollars?" Table 9 indicates the responses that were given. Negro expectations were far lower than white. Better than one in three Negroes expects his highest yearly income to be under $10,000. This is true for about one in ten whites. More than twice the number of whites expect to earn over $20,000 than do Negro respondents.

Certainly in terms of income alone the occupational pursuits of whites have more "pay-off" than for Negroes. Whether this indicates a dissatisfaction with the immediate job situation or merely the perception of blocked mobility within the occupation is left undetermined. To assess this, the following question was asked: "As a general view, how do you feel about the future opportunities in your line of work or occupation?" In Table 10 one sees the replies to the three choices of "excellent," "good," or "fair." Quite clearly Negroes are more pessimistic than whites. About twice the proportion of Negroes sees only "fair" opportunity in their line of work. Whites say opportunities are "excellent" or "good" 76.3% of the time, while Negroes indicate these responses 61.4% of the time. The implication is -- linking Table 8, 9, and 10 -- as follows: Negroes

in the middle income sample have greater job mobility aspirations but their expectations are lower than the equivalent white sample. Both groups are not content with their chosen occupations -- but for whites this dissatisfaction is not reflected in opportunities for additional income or new opportunities in their chosen field of endeavor. Precisely in terms of these measures of job-worth and self-worth Negro respondents manifest significant disparity between intentions and realities as they perceive them. It is in this gap between present and future that the middle income Negro appears to be in a serious "locked-in" position.

Summary

In this section the following basic patterns appear:

1. While one out of every two white respondents in the study indicated a work week of less than forty hours, this was true for only one in 15 Negro respondents. Given the lower income distribution of the Negro sample this disparity cannot be accounted for by better compensation for Negroes but implicity by lower rewards as expressed by leisure opportunities.
2. Negro job holdings in the middle income sample show a somewhat greater stability than for the middle income white sample. One in two Negroes but only two in five whites has held the same job for ten years or longer. Given the older age distribution of white respondents this implies greater job "vertical" mobility for whites. This is borne out by the number of job changes since high school. Proportionately, more Negroes have held the same job during that period than whites. At the same time, a minority of Negro respondents appear to be very active as far as vertical job movement is concerned. The patterns suggests that there is a fixed ceiling on jobs in blue collar occupa-

tions (where 3/5ths of the Negro sample works) are conducive to shifting of jobs "horizontally" because of a blocked "vertical" mobility.

3. About one in 25 white and Negro respondents indicated their occupation as self-employed. When asked about having considered a self-employed line of work, one out of two whites gives a positive response and two out of three Negroes gives a positive response. This significant difference suggests the potential for Negro entrepreneurship.

4. In terms of choosing their present line of work, one in two Negroes indicated that experiences in the course of formal education were at least somewhat important. This was true of 36.9% of the white respondents. Despite the smaller number of Negroes with a college education, relatively more Negroes indicated that a "college" instead of a "high school" experience had influenced their job choice. For both whites and Negroes the educational influence was derived from contact with a teacher rather than the content of educational materials.

5. Twice as many whites as Negroes indicated that friends had been influential in selecting a job. This finding along with the greater role played by teachers indicated by Negro respondents suggested that occupational choice in the ghetto means isolation from the predominant low socio-economic employment patterns and values. In effect the "reference" point of teachers rather than peers is associated with Negro mobility and not with white mobility.

6. Four out of five Negroes and whites would not select their same line of work if they could "start over." Of the dissatisfied group, four out of five Negroes would select white collar occupations as would

seven out of eight whites. Given that 3/5ths of the Negro sample now hold blue collar positions while half of the white sample does, occupational aspirations are significantly higher for the Negro as compared to the white sample.

7. Using as a measure of job satisfaction the highest earnings a respondent would expect, it is found, that one in three Negro respondents do not expect to ever earn $10,000 -- while nine out of ten whites anticipate earnings this high or higher. Twice as many white respondents compared to Negro respondents expect to earn over $20,000.

8. Twice as many Negroes view their present line of work as providing only "fair" opportunities for the future as compared to how whites view their opportunities. These findings coupled with the low expectations for income but higher mobility aspirations reflect a gap between present position and desired goals that is distinct in the Negro middle income sample but absent in the white sample. This "locked-in" mobility pattern in the world of work means a significant discrepancy between realities for whites compared to Negroes for not in the "poverty" range.

Recommendations:

1. Four out of five respondents, both Negro and white, expressed dissatisfaction with their present line of work to the point that they would not choose it again if given a choice. It is strongly recommended that information on careers be introduced into the school programs in time to give the students an opportunity to investigate job and vocational opportunities. With expert counselling, it may be possible to prevent widespread job dissatisfaction.
2. That constant aggressive action be taken to eliminate discrimination in business, industry, government, and labor unions, in hiring and upgrading of all persons. Negroes must break all job classification barriers.
3. Opportunity for continuing education should be available to every adult at whatever point his or her formal schooling stopped. This should include vocational training adapted to the growing need for skilled workers. Highly skilled counselling should be an integral part of all such programs.

Comment:

This study reflects a substantially higher income, education and occupational composition for both groups that would be yielded by a "Random Survey."

Table 1

WORK WORLDS:
HOURS WORKED PER WEEK

	Negro Families	White Families
Under 30 hours	3.3%	10.8%
30 to 39 hours	3.3	35.1
40 to 49 hours	76.7	29.8
50 or more	16.7	24.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 2

WORK WORLDS:
LENGTH OF PRESENT EMPLOYMENT

	Negro Families	White Families
Under one year	15.4%	21.1%
1 year, less than 2	15.3	10.6
2 to 4 years	7.7	10.5
5 to 9 years	12.8	17.5
10 or more years	48.8	40.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 3

WORK WORLDS:
NUMBER OF JOBS HELD SINCE HIGH SCHOOL

	Negro Families	White Families
Same as present job	28.2%	19.3%
One other job	7.7	15.8
Two other jobs	10.3	17.5
Three other jobs	17.9	15.8
Four other jobs	12.8	15.8
Five or more jobs	23.1	15.8
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 4

WORK WORLDS:
SELF-EMPLOYED STATUS

	Negro Families	White Families
Self employed	4.5%	4.7%
Not self-employed	85.6	83.1
Retired, unemployed	9.9	12.2
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Table 5

WORK WORLDS:
ORIENTATION TO ENTREPRENEURSHIP FOR NON-SELF EMPLOYED

Have you ever thought of going into business for yourself?

	Negro Families	White Families
Yes	73.1%	51.3%
No	26.9	48.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	Base: 56	Base: 65

Table 6

WORK WORLDS:
IMPORTANCE OF TEACHERS AND FORMAL EDUCATION

	Negro Families	White Families
Very important	30.8%	12.3%
Somewhat important	17.9	24.6
Not very important	28.2	35.2
Not at all important	17.9	15.7
Don't know	5.2	12.2
High School influence	56.5%	66.7%
College	33.3	21.1
Teacher influence	69.2	66.7
Subject	20.5	21.1

(Base: 394)

Table 7

WORK WORLDS:
IMPORTANCE OF FREINDS IN JOB SELECTION

	Negro Families	White Families
Very important	2.6%	5.3%
Somewhat important	10.3	19.3
Not very important	66.8	49.2
Not at all important	15.4	19.3
Don't know	4.9	6.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 8

WORK WORLDS:
WORK SATISFACTION

What type of work would you try to get into if you could start over again?

	Negro Families	White Families
Professional, semi-professional	59.1%	54.1%
Officials, managers, proprietors	5.1	17.5
Clerical, sales	0.0	0.0
Craftsmen, foremen, kindred	12.8	1.6
Service, operatives	2.5	3.3
Same line of work	20.5	19.1
Don't know	0.0	4.4
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 9

WORK WORLDS:
HIGHEST YEARLY INCOME EXPECTATION

	Negro Families	White Families
Under $7,500	23.0%	1.8%
$7,500 to $10,000	12.8	10.3
$10,000 to $15,000	28.2	17.6
$15,000 to $20,000	5.1	12.3
Over $20,000	15.4	35.1
Don't know	10.4	11.5
N.A.	0.0	11.4
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 10

WORK WORLDS:
FUTURE OPPORTUNITIES IN PRESENT LINE OF WORK

	Negro Families	White Families
Opportunities are excellent	23.0%	42.3%
Opportunities are good	28.2	21.1
Opportunities are fair	23.0	12.3
There are no opportunities	0.0	0.0
Don't know	5.1	5.3
N.A.	20.7	19.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Chapter XII

SOCIAL MOBILITY: MYTH AND REALITY

Previous chapters have focused on the occupational patterns of middle income whites and Negroes. Flowing from this concern is the question of gains and goals in the stratification system of the society. American values and achievements are closely bound up with the process of social mobility. Both in its promise and its failures the society offers this index of success -- its own and that of its members.

One rather objective index of social mobility is that of "inter-generational" movement. The simple question asked is this: "Do parents determine the social level of their offspring or is movement -- either upward or downward -- a frequent occurrence?" Table 1 shows the occupational level of the fathers of the sample heads of households. For Negroes 25.5% of the fathers were in white collar occupations. For whites the equivalent percentage is 48.5%. Another 10.5% of the Negro and 22.5% of the white fathers were in skilled blue collar occupations. This means that the middle income families frequently have a background of relatively high occupational status from which they have received their initial boost.

In Table 2 there is a comparison of the occupational status of sons with fathers. The results are rather striking. For the Negro sample a 10.3% gain between generations has occurred in terms of white collar occupations. A corresponding drop of 6.4% has occurred in blue collar occupations. However, for whites a gain of 15.7% has occurred in white collar occupations, a drop of 14.3% in blue collar positions. In other words, half again as many whites as Negroes have moved up to high status occupations -- twice as many have moved out of low status occupations..

There are some differences that are even more startling. For Negroes in the middle income sample, there is a drop of 2.7% in professional and semi-professional occupations between the generations under discussion. Whites show a gain of 15.8% in such occupations. In this latter instance a drop in "managerial" occupations reflects the shift from self-employed small business enterprise to bureaucratic occupations -- a characteristic of society in recent decades. But even if the two white collar groups are added -- professional and managerial -- Negroes show a net gain of 3.1% while whites show a 10.1% gain -- three times the increase. These differences are even more striking when one realizes that Negroes start from a much lower base as indicated in Table 1 of this chapter. Percentage gains should then be easier to obtain. But the results reflect instead the tendency toward stagnation in occupational mobility for Negroes. The illusion of great gains in the Negro middle class must be put into perspective -- which in turn leads to a view that the middle class is reproducing itself with slight gain while for whites there is a substantial expansion in upward mobility.

Table 3 examines the type of industry in which whites and Negroes are employed in the sample. The most rapidly expanding industries such as service and finance show whites with 28.9% and Negroes with 20.8%. Wholesale and retail trade show three times the number of whites as compared to Negroes. Only in professional services are the two groups near parity: 11.7% and 13.2%. In service industries, Negroes show a gain of 5.1%, whites a gain of 10.5%; in finance and real estate Negroes gained 1.3%, whites 2.5%; in wholesale and retail trades the figures are 1.9% and 3.5%. Only in professional services did Negroes outgain whites -- 7.1% versus 2.3%. The increase in Negroes in manufacturing reflects employment in the automobile industry. Whites show a large decline in this industry.

The patterns of Table 3 point toward two important implications: First, Negro middle income families lag behind whites in many areas of expanding economic activity and opportunity; secondly, middle income Negroes are far less diversified in their employment by industry type than whites. Both of these findings directly assess the influence and control which middle income Negroes do not have over their own destiny and particularly that of others. Without access to finance, service, and basic marketing outlets of the community, little direction can be given toward carrying improvement in the life of inner-city families and the Negro community as a whole. Whatever gains are reflected by middle income Negroes they do not suggest significant bases of economic or social power.

The major role played by formal education in the life of middle income families has already been indicated. Social mobility is likely to be measured by education and this in turn may provide rewards and access to societal values not determined by income or occupation alone. In Table 4 one sees the educational mobility of the middle income sample. The fundamental question raised by Table 4 is this: "Does educational attainment provide economic rewards equally for whites and Negroes?" An examination of Table 4 leads to an answer that is generally in the negative. Taking first males who have not completed high school, it is found that 36% of the whites and 27% of the Negroes with this level of education earn $10,000 or more per year. The next group, high school graduates, show 56% of whites and 44% of Negroes with such incomes. Persons with from one to three years of college if they are Negro, 68% of the time earn $10,000 or more; while if they are white the percentage is 74%.

The lower portion of Table 4 indicates that for a college graduate with a B.A., 29% of the Negroes and 69% of the whites earn $10,000 or more.

Finally, for individuals with professional or post graduate college education it is found that there is a reversal: 100% of the Negroes earn $10,000 or more, only 87% of the whites do so. Overall, then four out of the five comparisons showed whites gaining larger salaries with the same level of education as Negroes. It was only with an advanced college degree that this differential was overcome and even overturned.

Important as the comparisons for college educated persons are, the most disturbing findings in Table 4 are those associated with high school graduates. Given the tremendous pressures on teenagers from the community, the school, and the family it is important to face the reality that high school graduation does not reduce discrimination. Twice as many whites as Negroes in the sample with a high school diploma earn $14,000 or more. The high school graduate group is a major portion of the urban community. If the incentives for graduation are not tangible it is ludicrous to condemn those who are not motivated to complete their public school education. The findings in this survey do not lend great encouragement to this major segment of the Negro community.

Table 5 presents the patterns of educational mobility for fathers and sons in the sample population. The focus is upon the extent of real gain educational level, irrespective of what rewards it might bring. The fathers in the Negro sample are in 35.0% of the cases at least high school graduates. A gain of 25.5%. White fathers are high school graduates 41.0% of the time and their sons attaining at least this level of education in 75.6% of the time -- a gain of 34.6%.

Fifteen and one tenth percent of the fathers of Negro male respondents attended college and 19.2% of white respondents attended college. In the present sample, Negro college attendance is 26.1% -- a gain of 11.0%; while for whites the sample shows 46.9% a gain of 27.7%. In effect then, both white and Negro respondents

started with similar college education backgrounds but whites have far outdistanced Negroes in current-generation gains. Such a pattern seriously calls into question the view that Negro "progress" in educational gains is accelerating. As in the case of occupational mobility, the Negro middle income strata of the community is reproducing its past gains with only slight growth in the size of its educational base.

Mobility Patterns for Female Respondents:

The discussion of patterns of social mobility has up to this point been confined to the male respondents in the study. This has been necessary in order to clarify the actual patterns of societal change. Because of the widespread belief that white women in our society have their skills underemployed irrespective of educational attainments and that Negro women are less subjective to discrimination than men -- the survey has dealt solely with male respondents. But the validity of the "underemployed white female" and the "matriarchial" pattern in the Negro community requires examination in its own right. We shall seek an exploration of this hypotheses or more accurately "myths."

Table 6 presents the occupational status pattern for employed females in the sample of middle income families. For Negro respondents 18.2% of the employed women are in professional or managerial occupations. This compares with 33.4% for white women -- about one to two ratio. Taking all three white collar occupations, Negro women 57.9% of the time fill these positions as compared to 87.9% for white females -- a differential of 30.0%. In other words, there are three out of ten white females in non-manual occupations who have no Negro female counterparts. Quite clearly Table 6 argues for a rejection of the thesis that white females are less able to achieve -- in occupational terms -- societal positions of significant status.

In Table 7 the question of educational attainment and mobility is examined. White women in the present sample are high school graduates 55.4% of the time, Negro women 50.0% of the time. In terms of college education there is some confirmation for the reverse discrimination thesis: 20.0% of white women have college education compared to 23.0% for Negro females. Corresponding statistics for males (from Table 4) white 46.9% and Negroes 26.1% respectively. Putting these figures together it is noted that there are 26.9% more college educated men in the white sample than women; for Negroes there is only a 3.1% male lead in college education.

Examining mobility patterns from Table 7 the following is revealed: white females have gained 5.5% over their mothers in terms of college education; Negro females have gained 11.8% -- twice the gain for white females. Negro females report their mothers with less than a high school diploma 59.8% of the time as compared to 62.9% for white females. From this position the present generation in the sample shows 27.0% for Negro women and 24.7% for white women. In other words, generation patterns show the non-high school graduate proportion dropping 38.2% for white women and 32.8% for Negro women. These findings, using the male population (Table 5), indicated a drop of 35.4% for whites and 25.5% for Negroes. White women show slightly better gains toward a high school degree than males; Negro women show an even larger gain. The result is that Negro males show the lowest rate of movement into the high school graduate group, white women moving into this level 7.3% faster. Using college education as the yardstick of educational mobility, Negro women show a gain of 11.8% as compared to a male gain of 11.0%. Both figures exceed the white percentages of 5.5% for females, but falls far short of the white male gain of 27.7%.

All of the findings must be viewed as subject to some sampling error. And to support or refute the "matriarchy" theory would require a much more elaborate analysis than has been attempted. However, there is some evidence that Negro females are less handicapped in their educational mobility compared to Negro males. There is little evidence that this pattern is found in regard to the sex discrimination practiced against all women in the society. Moreover, the trends in the data point to the slower rise of white women into an educational level superior to that of their mothers' than is found for Negro females. It would appear that sex discrimination is a more general phenomena at the point of entering college than in terms of completing high school. In the step to high school graduation, race discrimination seems to explain the patterns obtained. At this level the Negro male is outdistanced in educational mobility by the Negro female.

If the discussion has implied educational blockages that are sex-linked one major question can be asked: is this pattern a product of the educational setting as such or the family value system. To disentangle these explanations respondents were asked two questions: "How much education would be enough for your daughters? How much ..... would be enough for your sons?" This was asked of all respondents whether or not they actually had male or female children. The purpose was to tap the overall cultural value system that might be operating. In Table 8 are the findings concerning educational aspirations for male children. Almost nine out of ten Negro families aspire to a college degree for their male children. For whites this percentage is virtually identical. Thus, for Negro middle income families there appears to be no lessening of educational aims for sons -- in fact some slight trend exists for these to be higher than for whites.

Table 9 shows the responses obtained in regard to aspirations for female children. At this point there appears to be a clear race difference. Negro parents show an equally high level of aspiration for female and for male children. There is no favoring of the female but rather an equal emphasis on the education of both males and females. For white families in the survey, female children are viewed as adequately educated without college in one out of four instances. A college degree is considered "enough" education for one out of two white families. It may be concluded form the findings shown in Tables 8 and 9 that the myth of "Negro matriarchy" is far less accurate than the view of a "white patriarchy" in terms of educational aspirations for children. However, it is clear that both white and Negro middle income families stress some form of college education for both their male and female offspring. These aspirations are, however, particularly significant for Negro families.

Summary

1. Using comparison of father's and son's occupational status level, both white and Negro middle income families have parental status that appears to affect their own. Negro respondents have an increase of only 10.3% into white collar occupations over that of their fathers, while whites show a 15.7% upward gain. While a race differential is present, the more striking pattern is the restricted mobility of Negroes and whites.
2. In terms of high level white collar occupations, Negro respondents show a net generational drop in professional and semi-professional job categories over that of their fathers, while whites a gain of 15.8%. Using both professional and managerial levels, whites have a 10.1% gain, Negroes a 3.4% gain. Given the initial low proportions for the

fathers of male Negro respondents these differences are more significant than their statistical values. In effect the Negro middle class appears to be only slightly more than reproducing itself.

3. Negroes in occupations other than manufacturing and processing represents a smaller proportion than whites. Service industries finance and real estate and the wholesale and retail trades account for only one-quarter of the Negro sample, but two out of five whites are in these industries. Generational gains in employment diversity have lagged behind for Negroes as compared to white respondents. Only in the area of professional services is a parity of gain evident. Areas of community life where resource control and resource allocations are made, are the occupational niches in which middle income Negroes register the smallest gains.

4. At all levels of educational attainment, Negro males earn incomes that are proportionately lower than whites. The exception in the sample is for persons with post-graduate college degrees, A trend, based on a small number of cases, points to some reversal of the general discrimination in income. Both at the crucial gateways of educational achievement -- high school graduation and college graduation -- Negro respondents show the effects of income discrimination.

5. In terms of achieving a given level of education mobility patterns show white males improving their education over that of their fathers more often than Negro males -- 9.1% less for high school granduation, 16.7% differential for college attendance. This latter figure reflects a double rate of educational mobility for whites versus Negroes in the sample. As in the case of occupational mobility, the Negro middle income group is growing at only a small rate beyond reproducing itself.

6. In analyzing the mobility patterns of females in the sample Negro women are employed in lower status positions 30.0% more than white women. Twice the proportion of white females are in professional or managerial positions as are Negro women.

7. College educational attainment is somewhat higher for Negro women than for white women. This difference indicates that while educational access is greater than for Negro males the rewards in terms of occupational status are even more distorted in distribution than for Negro males.

8. Negro males show the lowest rate of intergenerational gain in high school diplomas in comparison to the three other groups being compared, Negro females, while males, and white females.

9. While Negro females have moved into college education levels at the same rate as Negro males -- comparing mothers and fathers -- this rate still lags far behind the gain generationally of white males.

10. White women in the sample have risen in educational levels at a slower rate than Negro females -- due to sex-based disparities at the college level. However, at the high school graduation point a race-linked discrimination appears to explain the patterns found. At this level there is an apparently easier mobility for the Negro females compared to the male.

11. In terms of educational aspirations for their children, the sample families show no support for a "Negro matriarchy" theory. Negro parents show equally expectations using a question based on "how much education is enough" for sons and daughters. By contrast whites show a higher aspiration for males than for females. This supports a

a concept of white "patriarchy" among the white middle income respondents.

12. Overall findings about mobility show both a significant racial gap acting upon Negroes and the persistence of this pattern for males and females. The fact of a more equal gain between white and Negro females as compared to males of both races is not reflected in equal occupational status nor is it a product of family values. Instead, Negro females have race discrimination added to sex discrimination, victims of whites' values of sex inequality coupled with the practice of race inequality of income rewards.

Recommendations:

1. That industry and government be urged to strengthen agencies charged with eliminating discriminatory practices in employment and promotions, and enforcing Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act allowing Federal grant-in-aid funds to be withheld from activities which discriminate on grounds of color or race.
2. That new imaginative programs must be planned and put into action to reverse the deepening racial division. Parents -- both Negro and white -- must be made to understand that the roots of racism -- individual or institutional -- and prejudice are to be found in too many instances in the home.
3. Parents should be encouraged to provide incentive and motivation to their children and to expose them to as many broadening experiences as possible. To provide books, encyclopedias and other reading material; to show sincere interest in their accomplishments in school and their associates and activities out of school.

4. Negro families must be encouraged to set higher aspirations for the male children in the family as the only means of developing the concept of "patriarchy" which is found among white middle income families.

In the words of an Urban League founder, "Let us work not as colored people nor as white people for the narrow benefit of any group alone, but together as American citizens for the common good of our common city, our common country."

Table 1

SOCIAL MOBILITY:
OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF FATHER OF MALE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

	Negro Families	White Families
White Collar		
Professional, semi-professional and kindred	16.0%	17.4%
Officials and managers, proprietors	6.1	24.5
Clerical and sales workers	3.4	6.6
Blue Collar		
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	10.5	22.5
Operative and service workers	18.8	9.8
Farmers	12.7	5.7
Laborers	24.3	13.6
Not Ascertained	8.2	0.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

Table 3***

SOCIAL MOBILITY:
TYPE OF INDUSTRY OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD
AND FATHER OF HEAD

	Negro Families		White Families	
	Own Occ.	Father's Occ.	Own Occ.	Father's Occ.
Transportation, commerical, and public manufacturing, processing	49.4%	33.3%	32.8%	45.0%
Service industries	19.5	14.4	22.9	12.4
Professional and related services	11.7	4.6	13.2	10.9
Transportation, commercial and public utilities	5.8	5.2	6.0	6.4
Wholesale, retail trade	4.5	2.6	13.9	10.4
Construction and related industries	2.0	34.6	4.6	12.4
Finance and real estate	1.3	0.0	6.0	3.5
Not ascertained	5.8	5.3	0.6	2.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(Base: 394)

***Charts in this chapter will not be in correct sequence do to the fact that some must go sideways on the page.

Table 2

SOCIAL MOBILITY:
OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF MALE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD AND FATHER OF HEAD

	Negro Families			White Families		
	Head	Father	Difference Col. 1-2	Head	Father	Difference Col. 1-2
White Collar Workers						
Professional, semi-professional, kindred	13.3%	16.0%	-2.7	33.2%	17.4%	+15.8
Officials, managers proprietors	12.2	6.1	+6.1	18.8	24.5	- 5.7
Clerical and sales workers	10.3	3.4	+6.9	12.2	6.6	+ 5.6
Total	35.8%	25.5%		64.2%	48.5%	
Blue Collar Workers						
Craftsmen, foremen, kindred workers	15.8%	10.5%	+5.3	15.8%	22.5%	- 6.7
Operative and service workers	26.0	18.8	+7.2	10.7	9.8	- 0.9
Laborers	18.2	24.3	-6.1	5.1	13.6	- 8.5
Total	60.0%	53.6%		31.6%	45.9%	

(Base: 394)

124.

Table 4

SOCIAL MOBILITY:
INCOME IN RELATION TO EDUCATION FOR MALE RESPONDENTS

	11 or less years		High School graduate		Some College		College graduate		Post Graduate or Professional school	
	Negro Families	White Families	Negro Families	White Families	Negro Families	White Families	Negro Families	White Families	Negro Families	White Families
Less than $5,000	12%	26%	3%	0%	0%	0%	9%	0%	0%	0%
$5,000-$7,999	29	19	19	16	4	11	36	5	0	4
$8,000-$9,999	22	13	28	29	16	11	9	26	0	9
$10,000-$13,999	27	23	33	32	32	37	11	42	54	52
$14,000-$19,999	0	10	8	24	36	21	28	16	28	9
$20,000 or more	0	3	3	0	0	16	0	11	18	17
Refused	10	6	6	0	12	4	18	0	0	9
	Base	Base	Base	Base	Base	Base	Base	Base	Base	Base
	72	52	63	61	25	31	11	31	11	38

125.

Table 5

SOCIAL MOBILITY:
EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY OF MALE RESPONDENTS

	Negro Families			White Families		
	Own Ed.	Father's Ed.	Difference Col. 1-2	Own Ed.	Father's Ed.	Difference Col. 1-2
0-8 years	18.3%	51.5%	+33.2	13.1%	45.5%	+32.4
9-11 years	21.2	13.5	+ 7.7	11.5	13.5	- 2.0
High School graduate	34.6	19.9	+14.7	28.5	21.8	+ 6.7
1 to 3 years college	14.5	8.7	+ 5.8	14.6	5.2	+ 9.4
College graduate	5.8	4.8	+ 1.0	14.6	7.3	+ 7.3
Post graduate or professional schooling	5.8	1.6	+ 4.2	17.7	6.7	+11.0
(Base: 394)						

Table 6

SOCIAL MOBILITY:
OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF EMPLOYED FEMALES

	Negro Families	White Families
Professional, semi-professional and kindred	13.4%	29.3%
Managers, proprietors officials	4.8	4.1
Clerical and sales workers	39.7	54.5
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	1.2	1.4
Operative and service workers	38.6	10.7
Laborers	2.3	0.0
Not Ascertained	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	Base: 83	Base: 109

Table 7

SOCIAL MOBILITY:
EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS

	Negro Families			White Families		
	Own Ed.	Mother's Ed.	Difference Col. 1-2	Own Ed.	Mother's Ed.	Difference Col. 1-2
0-8 years	6.2%	37.1%	-30.9	8.1%	46.0%	-37.9
9-11 years	18.5	25.8	- 7.3	18.9	13.8	+ 5.1
High school graduate	55.4	22.4	+33.0	50.0	29.1	+20.9
1-3 years of college	15.4	8.4	+ 7.0	10.8	5.1	+ 5.7
College graduate	4.6	4.2	+ 0.4	9.5	5.6	+ 3.9
Post graduate or professional schooling	0.0	2.1	- 2.1	2.7	0.5	+ 2.2

(Base: 394)

127.

Table 8

SOCIAL MOBILITY:
EDUCATION ASPIRATIONS FOR SONS

	Negro Families	White Families
Some high school	0.0%	0.0%
Graduate high school	1.1	2.4
Some college	5.0	7.0
Graduate college	43.6	61.1
MA or Ph.D degree	45.3	25.8
No answer	5.0	3.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	Base: 170	Base: 208

Table 9

SOCIAL MOBILITY:
EDUCATION ASPIRATIONS FOR DAUGHTERS

	Negro Families	White Families
Some high school	4.4%	5.6%
Graduate high school	1.7	18.4
Some college	12.1	23.0
Graduate college	45.2	45.4
MA or Ph.D degree	37.6	6.1
No answer	0.0	1.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	Base: 173	Base: 201

CONCLUSION

This study, if this sample holds true of the general population, has several long standing myths concerning the middle income Negroes and its relationship to the middle income whites. It is generally assumed that as the Negro moves into the middle income status he becomes more like a white counterpart. Evidence presented in this survey found that middle income Negroes are similar to the middle income whites in the number of female heads of household and the number of children in the family. The survey has brought to the forefront that in most other areas of concern the white and middle income Negro groups differ.

As stated in the text, "The understanding of common community events reflects the separation of experiences and social worlds of middle income Negroes and whites." It is generally assumed that living together will bring a fuller understanding and concern for the total community. The survey found, (1) that in integrated neighborhoods there is less contacts between whites and Negroes of middle income then is commonly assumed occurs; (2) that in the integrated neighborhood where the survey was conducted, i.e., the Northwestern area, both whites and Negroes are more pessimistic about the end of discrimination than are whites and Negroes in separated neighborhoods. It is commonly heard that the number of middle income Negroes are expanding and for this reason more Negroes than ever before are moving into the mainstream. The survey brought out that the middle income Negro is barely reproducing himself in terms of numbers of families with higher incomes while the white middle income group is continuing to pull away from its previous levels at an accelerated rate.

Looking at some of the issues and priorities that are discussed in the survey:

I. ECONOMIC ISSUES:

1. The survey shows that Negro women more often than white women work and that they work much longer hours than their white counterparts.

2. That Negroes in the middle income range find it necessary to utilize credit buying more than their white counterparts.

3. That middle income Negroes do not see their chances of promotion being as lucrative as their white counterparts. In essence, Negroes feel they are still faced with "locked-in mobility."

In discussing handicaps in the employment world, whites interviewed still see cultural beliefs and values of Negroes as being the primary barriers to job advancement.

II. HOUSING

The survey also disclosed that whites are more concerned about the race of their neighbor than the social position of their neighbor.

III. EDUCATION

An overwhelming percentage of Negroes surveyed, stated that the school system was not doing an adequate job of educating the city's youth. This was particularly true for low income youth. The whites on the other hand were somewhat indifferent to the quality of education in the schools which their children attend and felt that the schools were doing an adequate job for low income youth.

IV. COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

The survey has demonstrated that Negroes in the middle income survey are more active in voluntary community and social organisations that are involved in community betterment then their white counterparts. The whites surveyed indicated their primary activities were in status and social organisations. Middle income Negroes are more concerned and more critical about civil rights organisations, economic, governmental, and educational institutions than their white counterparts. There is still a large gap in the attitudes of middle income whites and Negroes concerning the role of the police officer. He still maintains his

negative image to the middle income Negro while this is not true of the whites. It was interesting to note that the middle income Negro does not endorse the role of the black militant, but still feels alienated from society's institutions.

After reviewing the survey, conclusions which can be drawn are as follows: (1) that if this survey holds true for all middle income whites in Detroit, they are not receptive to practicing the American ideal and will resist allowing Negroes into the mainstream of Detroit life until Negroes are willing to conform to whites' "cultural beliefs and values" and; (2) that the future of race relations in this city depends upon whether middle income Negroes can move into the mainstream of life or continue to remain alienated from society -- pushed into the camp of the militants or into the Sea of Apathy.